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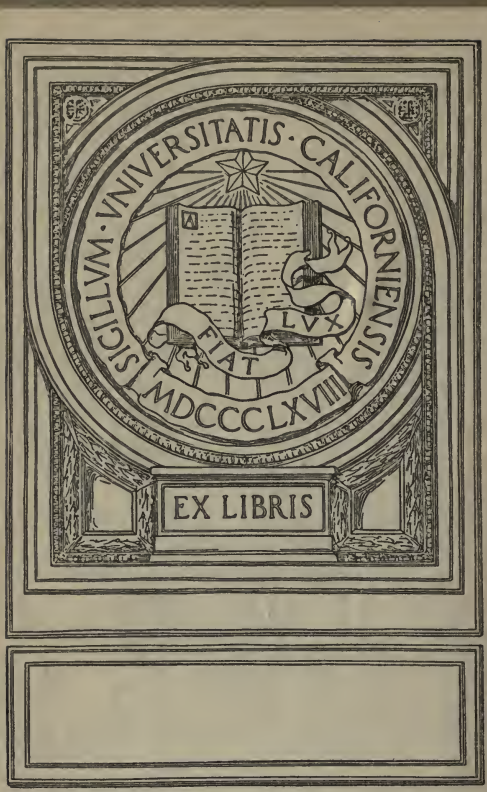
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Barclay
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Carolo Brinsleio Sheridan

Condiscipulo Cantabrigiensi,
plurimis terrâ marique in itineribus Comiti,
altos in montes atque invia lustra Venatori acerrimo,
Hannibalem necnon per Alpina juga studiosissimè insecuto,
Opusculum hocce (qualecunque sit)
Henricus Lawes Long. —

Long
Marchg Hannibal

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THE

MARCH OF HANNIBAL

FROM THE

RHONE TO THE ALPS.

BY

HENRY LAWES LONG, ESQ.

LONDON:
J. RODWELL, 46, NEW BOND STREET.
1831.

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UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

LONDON:
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TO

HENRY L. WICKHAM, ESQ.

ONE OF THE AUTHORS OF THE

"DISSERTATION UPON THE MARCH OF HANNIBAL ACROSS THE ALPS."

My dear Wickham,

I send you the result of a tour recently made in Dauphiny, not without the hope that, as I began with believing in you, you may end in agreeing with me.

Most truly yours,

HENRY LAWES LONG.

Lausanne, June 1st, 1831.

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INTRODUCTION.

Among the many sources of interest which engage our attention in passing through a foreign country, neither its economy, political and domestic, its natural curiosities, its scenery, nor its field sports, more powerfully attract the traveller, than the sight of places renowned in history as the scenes where great events have been transacted. The plains where battles have been fought—the fortresses where sieges have been undertaken—the mountain passes which armies have traversed, most forcibly arrest the attention, for such events form the materials of which the annals of the human race are principally composed. To have, instead of a map, the identical district laid out before us—to tread upon the very ground described—to look up to the same mountains that hung over the heads of the warriors of

whom we read;—all this adds immeasurably to the interest of the story, and tries by a severe test the accuracy of the author who records it. Herodotus at Marathon, Thucydides at Syracuse, and Polybius throughout Italy, from the Alps to the Aufidus, are read with increased pleasure when we find the face of nature, itself incapable of any material alteration, giving testimony in favour of their correctness. The taunts of "Græcorum nugamenta" and "Græcia mendax" have been thrown upon the historians of that country; but satire is not always truth; and, with the exception of Julius Cæsar, whose rapid but masterly sketches of a country enable us at once to recognize it, the Roman authors themselves are more deserving of the reproach. Livy, to say nothing of his portents and prodigies, is notoriously defective and unintelligible in his geography; and even Tacitus, a writer of acknowledged accuracy, affords us insufficient light to follow Agricola through his conquest of Britain with any degree of certainty.

The madness of mankind still indulges in warfare; but it is humiliating to be forced to confess, that the triumphs which are supposed to adorn the page of history, have seldom produced any visibly beneficial consequences;

while the horrors that accompanied them must always, for a time at least, have occasioned incalculable mischief and misery. Modern nations, at the conclusion of hostilities, are usually left much in the same state (except as to their finances) as they were at the beginning of a war. In ancient times, however, this was not so frequently the case. When we stand upon the barrow of the Greeks at Marathon, where the occasional loosening of the soil still exposes to our view the fragments of the flint arrow-heads of the Persian archers, we are conscious that those arrows were aimed not only against the rights and liberties of a free and independent people, but against the cradle of all the arts and sciences we now enjoy; and the gallant band that drove back the tide of barbarism from their shores, preserved at the same time to themselves and to us the rudiments of all that is useful and honourable to mankind. Thus, too, the conquest of the world by the Roman was the march of civilization; a check in its progress would have influenced the condition of ages yet unborn. The desperate attack of Hannibal "ad delendum nomen Romanum, liberandumque orbem terrarum," was unsuccessful; and as such, its consequences affect us even to the present hour. It left Rome the sovereign mistress of an undisputed

world, which she was allowed to fashion after her own taste; and, as we are not disposed to object to our language, our literature, or our laws, the greater portion of which we have derived from her, we may be presumed to be satisfied with the course she adopted. What effect might have been produced upon our domestic habits and political institutions, had the Carthaginian triumphed, cannot be conjectured; but it is very certain, if the destinies of the world had been so reversed, we should not, in every sentence we utter, find words of Roman origin. Under these circumstances the Carthaginian expedition into Italy acquires an importance independent of the interest excited by the novelty, hardihood and conduct of the enterprise. Their march upon Rome is not only the most remarkable feature in one of the most remarkable wars ever waged, "bellum maxime omnium memorabile quæ unquam gesta sint," but, in tracing their steps, we feel as if we were approaching the crisis of our own destinies; and while we acknowledge the courage and genius of the African general, it is on the side of Rome, the common parent of all Europe, that we lean with a feeling of filial anxiety.

To those, therefore, who delight in picturing to themselves the transactions of distant ages

on the very spot where they occurred, the march of Hannibal across the Alps cannot fail in producing the most lively interest. In visiting the scenes of this march, the traveller is unusually fortunate in two particulars:—he is led through the rich scenery of Dauphiny and Savoy, some of the most picturesque in Europe, and he has for his guide an historian of unrivalled merit. In Polybius we meet with a distinctness of detail which at once discovers the soldier, who had thoroughly investigated and understood every manœuvre of the hostile forces—the traveller, perfectly acquainted with the country in which the event he describes took place—and the faithful and accomplished writer, who condensed the materials without affecting the accuracy of his narrative. Indeed, had the original despatches sent by Hannibal to Carthage come down to us, we could hardly have found in them an account of the leading events of the campaign arranged in a more intelligible and interesting manner. Gibbon tells us, that in Polybius there is a sterility of fancy. This in an historian cannot surely be deemed a fault; but however true it may be, and however little his style may bend from its grave and dignified flow, his narrative is by no means deficient in the art of addressing

itself to our imagination. The events he describes are so clearly and vividly depicted, that in reading him we seem almost to live in the days of the Punic war, in defiance of the fine lines of Lucretius, where the poet exclaims—

iii. 844.

> ~~Et volat~~ anteacto *nil* tempore *sensimus* ægri,
> Ad confligendum venientibus undique Pœnis;
> Omnia cum, belli trepido concussa tumultu,
> Horrida, contremuere sub altis ætheris auris;
> In dubioque fuere, utrorum ad regna cadundum
> Omnibus humanis esset, terraque marique.

The nearer an author lives to the times of which he writes the history, the more likely he is to enter with spirit into the narrative, and to communicate his enthusiasm to his readers. Polybius lived but one generation only after Hannibal; his authorities were men who had been actors in the very scenes he describes, while his intimacy with the "Virtus Scipiadæ et mitis sapientia Læli," must have opened to him the purest sources of information. It is possible, perhaps, to detect in the historian an excusable partiality towards the illustrious race of the Scipios; but, even if this is the case, no writer during the lapse of nearly twenty centuries has yet ventured to impugn his veracity; while, of all the losses that literature has to lament, none are

more regretted than the defective portions of Polybius.

It is well-known to all those whom the march of Hannibal has at all interested, that a great controversy exists as to the precise road through the Alps traversed by the Carthaginian army; and this has arisen from the impossibility of producing any accordance between the accounts furnished us by Polybius and Livy. In the time of Livy himself it was already a subject of debate, and the additional confusion into which it was plunged by that historian has continued the dispute down to our own times. In the account Polybius has given us of the progress of the Carthaginian army from Spain to Italy, he glances rapidly over that portion of it preceding the passage of the Rhone, as presenting no events worthy of particular notice; but the mode of effecting the passage of that river, as well as the subsequent dangers and difficulties experienced by the Carthaginians until they reached the plains of the Po, are described with a precision almost amounting to the minuteness of a daily journal. The historian, who dwells with unusual interest upon this part of his narrative, had journeyed through the Alps upon the track of the Carthaginian army, to satisfy him-

self by a personal investigation of the localities, previous to recounting what was then considered, and is still looked back upon, as one of the most extraordinary performances ever accomplished. As a proof of the estimation in which Polybius was held even by his rival Livy, and how much he was preferred as an authority to all other writers, of whom there must have been several whose very names are now lost to us, we need only remark the servile manner in which he is copied by the Latin author—in some places so closely as to be little else than merely translated. It would have been fortunate, perhaps, had this been uniformly the case; but Polybius wrote at least a century before Livy, and the court of Augustus, for whom Livy undertook his work, required a more refined style than that of the Greek author; accordingly, in Livy we certainly discover Polybius, but it is Polybius dressed up, ornamented, and amplified; very well suited, no doubt, to the taste of the day, but utterly destructive of the simplicity and fidelity of the original. In many places inextricable confusion has been thus produced; and in no part so much as in the celebrated description of the passage of the Alps by Hannibal; for no more favourable opportunity

presented itself of indulging a fertile imagination in its disposition to exaggerate.* We, however, derive one advantage from Livy's narrative; it shows that Polybius alone was his authority for the account, as he ought to be ours. It is from Polybius that all the events of the march are extracted; they succeed each other precisely in the same order; but they are immensely dilated, and loaded with many unnecessary remarks and extraneous matter; above all, by Livy's giving the names of certain Gallic tribes, through which he affirms the Carthaginians to have passed, as well as by positively declaring them to have crossed the highest ridge of the Alps by the Saltus Taurinus, (the Mont Genevre,) the narrative of Polybius is attempted to be fastened upon a line of country to which nei-

* To show how easily a lively fancy may unconsciously fall into exaggeration upon a subject of this sort, I need only quote a sentence from a justly admired author, an ardent lover of truth:—"It was in this campaign that he (Bonaparte) proved himself a worthy rival of Hannibal. The energy which conducted an army, with its cavalry, artillery, and supplies, across the Alps, *by untried paths, which only the chamois hunter, born and bred amidst glaciers and everlasting snows, had trodden,* gave an impression, which of all others he most desired to spread, of his superiority to nature, as well as to human opposition."—*Channing's Character of Bonaparte.*

ther time, nor space, nor geographical character, nor common sense, can possibly unite it. No doubt Livy imagined himself conducting Hannibal by the road indicated by Polybius, and that by supplying the names, he was making amends for the deficiencies of that author; but he had not, like Polybius, visited the mountains and ascertained the distances; and those who take him as a guide upon the assurance of the names he furnishes, will soon find themselves entangled in an inextricable labyrinth.

The first steps towards attaining any thing like a rational explanation of this march were taken by M. Deluc, of Geneva,* who, in a most able illustration of a theory made known to him by the late General Melville, founded wholly and solely upon the authority of Polybius, by a diligent comparison of ancient with modern topography, and by carefully attending to the time and distances which are recorded with sufficient precision, has at last pointed out the only true mode of clearing up the question. M. Deluc's publication was almost immediately followed by that of two members of the University of Oxford,† who

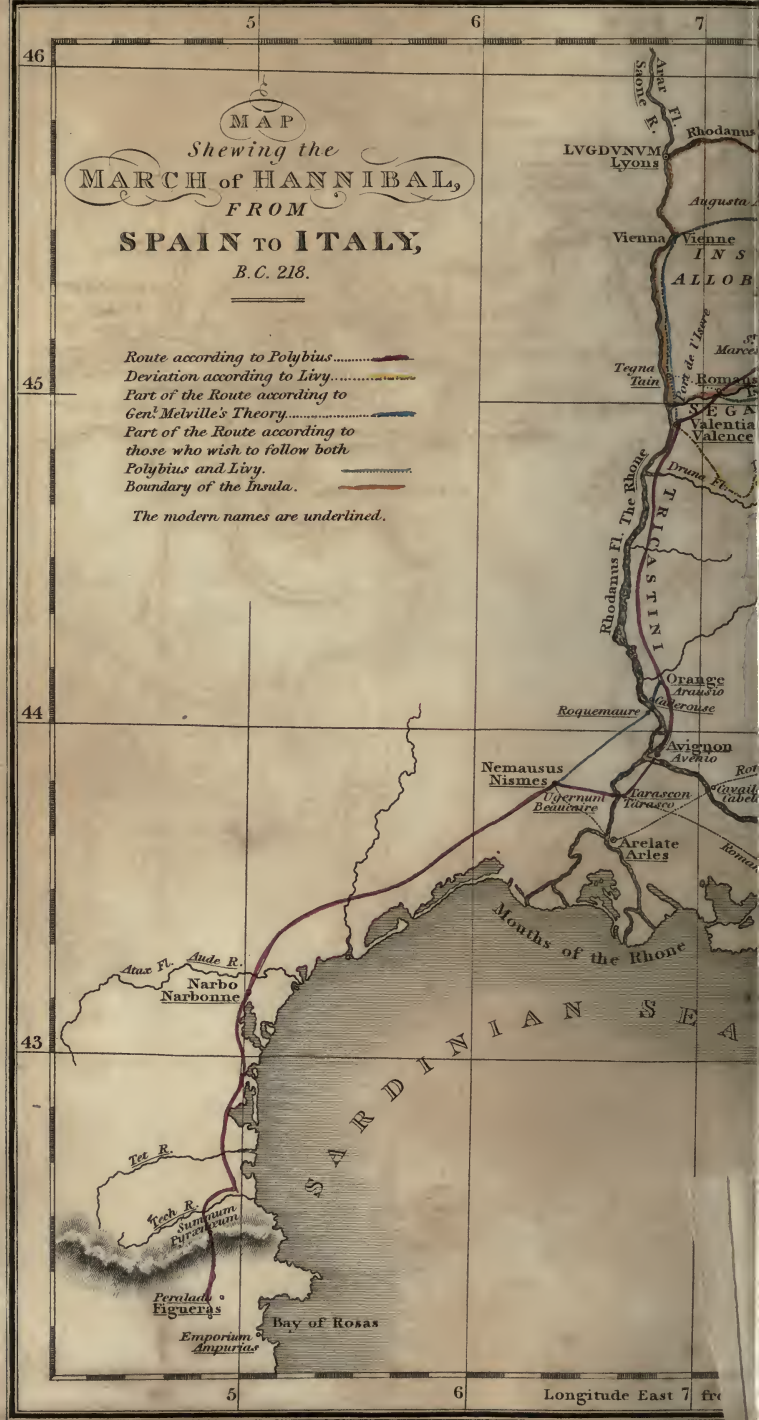
* Histoire du Passage des Alpes par Annibal. Par J. A. Delue, fils de feu G. A. Deluc, &c. &c. Genève, 1818.

† Dissertation on the Passage of the Alps by Hannibal.

had themselves minutely investigated the whole country between the Rhone and the Po. In this excellent performance, after some very valuable remarks upon the early history of the Alps, the claims of the Little St. Bernard to the distinction of being the road of Hannibal are set forth in a manner so clear, and so convincing, that we feel as sure of the fact as we do of the existence of Hannibal himself. It is not the intention of the author of the following pages to touch, except in a very slight degree, upon that part of the topography of the march which belongs to the Alps themselves—considering the above-mentioned publications to have effected nearly as much as the nature of the subject, or the purposes of history, required. It appears to him, however, that neither General Melville, nor M. Deluc, nor even the Oxford authors themselves, have satisfactorily established the line of march between the Rhone and the foot of the Alps; on the contrary, that they have not been successful in assimilating the narrative of Polybius with the route they have adopted through Dauphiny, and that these errors materially affect their subsequent calculations during the

By Henry L. Wickham, Esq., and the Rev. J. Cramer, late Students of Ch. Ch. Oxford. Second Edition. London, 1828.

passage of the Alps. Under these impressions, after a close attention to every word in the text of the Greek historian, and aided by an additional recent examination of the country, he now offers the result of his observations, fully convinced that the road by which he shows the Carthaginian general to have conducted his army to the entrance of the valley of the Little St. Bernard will be admitted to correspond with that described by Polybius, as to time, distance, and geographical character, in a manner so close and incontrovertible as to set this long pending discussion at rest for ever.



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THE MARCH OF HANNIBAL,

&c. &c.

When Hannibal had reached the foot of the Pyrenees on the Spanish side, half the distance between New Carthage and the plains of the Po was accomplished; but the remaining portion, in point of difficulty, was by much the most considerable. He had before him the formidable obstacles of the Pyrenees, the Rhone, and the Alps; and the worst parts of the country were occupied by the fierce and fickle tribes of the Transalpine Celts. Polyb. iii. 39, 40.

This latter half of the march is divided by Polybius into three portions—

I. From Emporium (Ampurias, on the Bay of Rosas, in Catalonia) to the Rhone.

II. From the Rhone to the commencement of the ascent of the Alps.

III. Across the Alps to the Plains of the Po.

Of these divisions it is the second principally which forms the subject of the present investigation. The route from Spain to the Rhone is sufficiently evident; and the passage of the Alps has been already proved satisfactorily to be that of the Little St. Bernard. It will, however, be necessary to examine, to a certain extent, these portions of the march, in order to connect them with the extremities of the intermediate section; and in so doing, a few remarks upon the passage of the Alps will be brought forward, tending to complete, if any thing is needed to complete, the proof that the Little St. Bernard was the road of Hannibal.

First, then, with a view to determine the exact point upon the Rhone where the Carthaginians passed that river, we have to take into consideration the road across the Pyrenees, and through Languedoc, by which they advanced to its banks. The notices of this march, although quite sufficient for our purpose, are very scanty. Hannibal is represented at first as under some apprehension of the Celts, on account of the difficult nature of
c. 41. their country; while Scipio calculated upon the delay his enemies would experience from

the same circumstance, and from the multitude of those barbarous tribes. These were the Celts, elsewhere described by Polybius as occupying all the country between the Py- c. 37
renees and the river Narbo, (Aude,) a tract exactly coinciding with the limits of the territory of Roussillon, the modern department of the Pyrenées Orientales.* The remaining sentences descriptive of the march, separated from the interruption of other details, stand as follows—

Ἀννίβας δὲ παραδόξως, τοὺς μὲν χρήμασι πείσας c. 41.
τῶν Κελτῶν, τοὺς δε βιασάμενος, ἦκε μετὰ τῶν
δυνάμεων, δεξιὸν ἔχων τὸ Σαρδόνιον πέλαγος, ἐπὶ τὴν
τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ διάβασιν.

Ἀννίβας δὲ, προσμίξας τοῖς περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν c. 42.
τόποις, εὐθέως ἐνεχείρει ποιεῖσθαι τὴν διάβασιν κατὰ
τὴν ἁπλῆν ῥύσιν σχεδὸν ἡμερῶν τεττάρων ὁδὸν ἀπέχων
στρατοπέδῳ τῆς θαλάττης.

" But Hannibal having, beyond all expecta-

* There is another passage of Polybius existing in the shape of a fragment, preserved in Athenæus, which contains some curious particulars relating to the Roussillon country; he speaks of certain fossil fish found in the neighbourhood of the modern towns of Elne and Perpignan. Organic remains of divers sorts are found in an osseous breccia, common in several places along this coast of the Mediterranean. Polybius imagines these fish to have made their way from the rivers (the Tet and the Tech) in search of their favourite food, the roots of the Agrostis. Polyb. Reliq. Lib xxxiv. de Gallia.

tion, persuaded some of the Celts by presents, and compelled others by force, advanced with his forces towards the passage of the Rhone, having the Sardinian sea to the right.

"And upon reaching the country in the neighbourhood of the river, he immediately prepared to make the passage, at the single stream, having his army at the distance of four days' journey from the sea."

To these materials must be added a previous, and more important extract :—

c. 38. Καὶ μὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ διάβασιν, περὶ χιλίους ἑξακοσίους. ταῦτα γὰρ νῦν βεβημάτισται, καὶ σεσημείωται κατὰ σταδίους ὀκτὼ διὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιμελῶς.

"And from thence (Emporium) to the passage of the Rhone, nearly 1,600 stadia, (200 M.P.,) for this distance has now been carefully measured by the Romans, and marked every eight stadia."

From these materials we have to trace the march to the banks of the Rhone; and as far as Nismes, we meet with no obstacle to our progress, for the great Roman way is perfectly well known from the Itineraries. Nismes itself stands at a distance of 177 M.P. from Emporium, according to the authors of
p. 230. the "Dissertation."

The remainder of the distance to the Rhone

is not at first quite so apparent, for we have to choose between three ways of reaching the river from Nismes. One in a north-easterly direction, conducting us to Roquemaure—such, at least, is a road laid down by M. Deluc and others, and stated by them to be the road taken by Hannibal. Whether any modern road exists in that direction or not, I am unable to say; but it is very certain that *no Roman way* ever connected Nismes with Roquemaure. Yet the words of Polybius are decisive: he distinctly points out a road between Emporium and *the Rhone, measured and marked by the Romans;* if, therefore, we are to be guided by the authority of Polybius, we must give up the road to Roquemaure.

The other two roads leading from Nismes to the Rhone are more to the purpose, for they are really Roman, as well as being still in use as important thoroughfares. Of these, one runs in a direction due east from Nismes to Beaucaire, the ancient Ugernum; the other takes a south-easterly course to the celebrated city of Arles, formerly the more celebrated Arelate. The road to Arles seems to have been the most frequented of the two, and appears in all the Itineraries; that to Beaucaire is given in the Theodosian Table,

and is noticed by Strabo. The geographer is speaking of the way from Nismes to Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix.)

iv. c. 3. Ἐκ Νεμαύσου δὲ διὰ Οὐγέρνου καὶ Ταράσκωνος εἰς τὰ Θερμὰ ὕδατα τὰ Σέξτια καλούμενα.

"From Nismes, through Ugernum and Tarasco, to the warm waters of Sextius."

And again, speaking of another road—

iv. c. 3. Τὴν διὰ Ουὸκοντίων καὶ της Κοττίου. μέχρι μὲν Οὐγέρνου, καὶ Ταράσκωνος κοινὴ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπὸ Νεμαύσου.

"That through the Vocontii and the territory of Cottius,—the road as far as Ugernum and Tarasco, is the same as that from Nismes."

No other Roman way leading from Nismes to the Rhone, exists even in tradition; it follows, therefore, that either at Beaucaire or Arles, Hannibal must have effected his passage; and we are at once relieved from all doubt as to which of the two places we are to choose, by the words of Polybius himself. He

c. 42. says it was κατὰ τὴν ἁπλῆν ῥύσιν—at the place where the river flowed "*in a single stream.*" These words have been thought to mean a part of the stream uninterrupted by any of those islands with which the Rhone abounds, an explanation in which I cannot at all concur, for the words are most certainly ap-

plied by Polybius to the passage at Beaucaire, in contradistinction to the other passage at Arles; for at Arles the bifurcation of the Rhone begins,—at Arles there are *two streams*, and the passage there would have been κατὰ τὴν διπλῆν ῥύσιν. Polybius, speaking of the Po, employs the same expression, ii. c. 16.

Τὴν μὲν γὰρ πρώτην ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν ἔχει ΡΥΣΙΝ ΑΠΛΗΝ, σχίζεται δ' εἰς δύο μέρη κατὰ τοὺς προσαγορευομένους Τριγαβόλους.

"The river flows from its sources in *a single stream* at first, but it is divided into two branches in the country of the Trigaboli."

It remains to be shown, that in the distance of Beaucaire from Emporium there is nothing inconsistent with the "nearly 1,600 stadia (200 M.P.)" of Polybius. From Emporium to Nismes there are, as has been already stated, about 177 Roman miles; if to these we add 15, the number, according to the Theodosian Table, between Nismes and Beaucaire, we get a total of 192 miles, which falls short of the Polybian distance by eight miles: this is too considerable a defalcation to pass without comment—and on this I have two remarks to offer.

First—The Greek historian here makes use of the word περὶ, "nearly;" we are not, therefore, to expect to find an *exact* 200 M.P.,

particularly as when he employs this word he commonly exceeds the real distance in the number he gives; for instance, he gives the distance from New Carthage to the plains of the Po in this manner—

From New Carthage to the Iberus .	2,600	
From the Iberus to Emporium . .	1,600	
		4,200
From Emporium to the Rhone . .	1,600	
From the Rhone to the Alps . . .	1,400	
Across the Alps to the Plains of the Po	1,200	
		4,200
		8,400

Making altogether a length of 8,400 stadia; yet in summing it up he speaks in round numnumbers, calling it "nearly 9,000 stadia:"

iii. c. 39. ὥστ' εἶναι τοὺς πάντας ἐκ καινῆς πόλεως σταδιούς περὶ ἐννακισχιλίους.

Secondly—If it should still be required to

p. 45. approach more closely to the 200 M.P., we may remark that M. Deluc, in calculating the distance between Emporium and Juncaria, (la Junquera,) does not follow the main road through Figueras, but thinks it probable the ancients had some shorter and more direct line through Peralada; upon which supposition he forms his computation.

Thus, therefore, in point of distance from Emporium, there is nothing in the situation of

Beaucaire that militates against the account given by Polybius. The three data—the distance, the Roman road, and the single stream, by which we thus determine the place of the passage, are of themselves, perhaps, sufficient; but there is yet a fourth—the distance from the foot of the Alps, which is stated by Polybius to be 1,400 stadia, or 175 Roman miles. Out of these 175 M.P., one hundred have been hitherto always assigned to that part of the march above the Isere, between that river and the first ascent of the Alps. According to this division of the distance, the remaining 75 M.P. must of course be allotted to the march between the passage of the Rhone and the Isere. In this manner the place at which the Rhone was crossed becomes easily discoverable, since to find it we have only to measure 75 M.P. down the stream from its confluence with the Isere. Accordingly, M. Deluc fixes the spot at Roquemaure; and in so doing he is aided by the support of all other writers upon the subject.* It is not, however, surprising that all authorities should agree so cordially upon this point, because the absolute distance of 75 M.P., measured from

* The anonymous author of "Hannibal's Passage of the Alps. By a Member of the University of Cambridge, London, 1830," fixes upon Tarascon as the point of passage.—ED.

the Isere southwards, must always terminate at Roquemaure; and nothing is left to produce any disunion of opinion. Whether this mode of computing the distance is the correct one or not, will be considered hereafter; and it will be shown, that in the number of miles between Tarascon, opposite Beaucaire, and the foot of the Alps, there is nothing which does violence to the 175 of Polybius.

There is still another circumstance which has been called in to assist in determining the place at which the Rhone was passed, of which some notice ought to be taken; it is derived from the words of Polybius already quoted. He is speaking of Hannibal—

σχεδὸν ἡμερῶν τεττάρων ὁδὸν ἀπέχων στρατοπέδῳ τῆς θαλάττης.

"Being distant with his army (or camp) from the sea, a distance of nearly four days."

This distance has been usually measured from the western mouth of the Rhone, because Scipio had arrived there with his army, on his voyage towards Spain; and σχεδὸν ἡμέρων τεττάρων ὁδὸν is supposed to mean four days *march*. But as Polybius does not tell us that the distance is to be reckoned from that part of the sea-coast, and has not anywhere, that I know of, assigned a definite length for a day's march, any calculations founded upon such constructions are very likely to prove

erroneous. In another part of his work the historian uses the same expression: he is speaking of Clusium, the modern town of Chiusi, in Tuscany. This town, he says, ἀπέχει ἡμερῶν τριῶν ὁδὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης, "is three days' journey from Rome." Now the distance of Clusium from Rome is nearly 100 Roman miles, which would give upwards of 30 M. P. for a day's journey—a common distance for a traveller riding the same horse, but which cannot be understood as the daily march of a regular army. What Polybius really does mean by these words is not quite apparent. It would rather seem (but I speak with great diffidence) that some place on the coast of the Mediterranean is intended, which Hannibal had already left behind him in his march from Spain—perhaps the Emporium of Narbonne, which is distant about 110 M. P., nearly four days' journey of thirty miles a-day, and which, from the importance of its resources in early ages, is not unlikely to have detained Hannibal for a short time after he had emerged from the difficult country occupied by the Celts; that is the point also at which mention had been made of the Sardinian sea—that it lay to his right as he proceeded on his march.

ii. c. 25.

Strabo.

Be that as it may, the light afforded us by

Polybius is quite enough to conduct us with sufficient certainty to Beaucaire, a place well suited to the encampment of a large force.

Itineraire de France, ii. p. 414.

"Sur une eminence qui commande la ville, s'élevait le chateau de Beaucaire, où St. Louis fit bâtir, avant son départ pour la Terre Sainte, une chapelle qu'on y voit encore. Le chateau qui n'existe déjà plus, a remplacé celui de l'antique Ugernum, construit par les Romains; de cette hauteur on jouit d'une magnifique perspective. Sur le bord du Rhône regne une vaste prairie, bordée de longues allées d'ormes et de platanes, qui servent de promenade."

Here Hannibal lost no time in preparing to carry over his army, and Polybius here begins a sort of diary of the operations, which is kept, with but few interruptions, until the passage of the Alps is completed. The days and nights are not always specified; but when they are, the Greek text will be found inserted in the following arrangement:—

Polyb. iii. c. 42.

The FIRST night is to be reckoned as succeeding the day of the arrival of the army upon the Rhone.

1st day.—Preparations for crossing are commenced; boats of all sorts are collected, and rafts constructed.

2. Night.

2. Day.—Preparations for crossing are continued with the utmost activity, each individual striving to be independent of his neighbour. At the conclusion of this second day the preparations are completed. Ἐν δυσὶν ἡμέραις πλῆθος ἀναρίθμητον ἐγένετο πορθμείων. "In two days an innumerable multitude of boats were provided." In the mean time a band of fierce barbarians had been congregating on the opposite bank, with a view to dispute the passage of the river, and Hannibal had concerted a scheme for their discomfiture.

3. Night.—Ἐπιγενομένης τῆς τρίτης νυκτὸς. Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, with a large division of the army, was despatched up the river, under the guidance of some natives, to the distance of 200 stadia, (25 M.P.) where he reached a spot "at which the river happened to be divided by an island." Ἐν ᾧ συνέβαινε περὶ τι χωρίον νησίζον περισχίζεσθαι τὸν ποταμὸν.*

3. Day.—Hanno prepared his rafts from the neighbouring wood.

4. Night.—Hanno carried his troops across the river.

* At the distance of 25 M. P. up the river from Beaucaire, we arrive opposite to Caderousse, where there is one of the most considerable islands to be met with in the Rhone—so large as to find a place in maps of a very reduced scale.

4. Day.—Ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν διέμειναν. Hanno and his men, after taking up a strong position, "remained quiet for the day," resting themselves after the hardships they had undergone.

c. 43. 5. Night.—Ἐπιγενομένης τῆς πέμπτης νυκτὸς. "The following night being the fifth," Hanno set out along the river towards the barbarians, ὑπὸ τὴν ἑωθινὴν (φυλακὴν) "about the morning watch,"* that is, about 3 A. M.

5th day.—As soon as Hanno, by a preconcerted signal of smoke, had made known his approach to Hannibal, the Carthaginians, who were all prepared, dashed across the river in the face of the barbarians, while Hanno fell upon them in the rear. They soon took flight, and the passage of the Rhone was accomplished.

c. 44. 6. Night.—ἐκείνην μὲν την νύκτα. "That night" Hannibal encamped by the side of the river. Tarascon, surrounded with fertile meadows, is as favourable a situation for an army as Beaucaire.

6. Day.—Τῇ δ' ἐπάυριον. "The next morn-

Veget. Re Mil. iii. 3. * The ancients divided the night (from sunrise to sunset) into four equal portions or watches. Hannibal crossed the Rhone about the time of the autumnal equinox—when, as the days and nights were of equal length, the morning watch would commence at 3 A. M.

ing" Hannibal, having intelligence of the Romans being at the mouth of the Rhone, despatched 500 of his Numidian cavalry to make a reconnaissance. Preparations were made for getting over the elephants. An assemby of the troops was also held, at which the chieftains from the plains of the Po were introduced; who, by means of interpreters, boasted of their readiness to make common cause against the Romans—and extolled the grandeur and fertility of Italy, to which they held out promises of a safe and speedy march. The general himself next addressed the troops, who manifested the utmost ardour, and he dismissed the assembly, after giving orders to hold themselves in readiness to march the following morning: ὡς εἰς τὴν ἄυριον ἀναζυγῆς ἐσομένης. After this, the 500 Numidians were driven back into the camp by a detachment of Roman and Gaulish horse,* who had been sent out to reconnoitre by Scipio. c. 47.

* The Gaulish horse were some troops Scipio found at Marseilles. Some allusion to them appears to be made in a fragment of Polybius, not uninteresting to the English reader. It seems that when Scipio questioned them and some other Gauls from Narbonne and other towns, ὑπερ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, "concerning Britain," οὐδεὶς εἶχε λέγειν οὐδὲν μνήμης ἄξιον, "not one had any thing to say worth remembering!" Polybius may perhaps be speaking of Scipio Africanus, as he calls him "Scipio;" he usually calls the father "Publius." Polyb. lib. xxxiv. frag. Geogr.

7. Night.

7. Day.—Τῇ κατὰ πόδας ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησιας. "The next day after the assembly," as soon as it was light, Hannibal posted all his cavalry on guard on the side towards the sea, while the infantry commenced their march. The elephants, thirty-seven in number, were then brought over, and the curious manner in
c. 46. which this was contrived is very circumstantially detailed by Polybius. With these animals
c. 47. and his cavalry, Hannibal proceeded along the river, forming the rear guard of his army. It has been supposed that he was occupied a whole day, or even two days, in transporting the elephants across the Rhone. There is nothing in Polybius to justify this conjecture, nor is it likely the general would have permitted so prolonged a separation of his forces. The cavalry, so remarkable for their celerity, and then fresh after several days' repose; and the elephants, whose *shuffle* performs eight miles an hour, would soon have overtaken the rest of the army.

Thus we have Hannibal, with all his army, fairly across the Rhone, and set forth on his march towards the Alps. It now becomes necessary to examine the road he took to reach those mountains.

Three roads leading across the Alps into

Italy, diverge from Tarascon—all of them frequented by the Romans, and known as early as the time of Polybius, for he speaks of them all.

1. One of them takes a south-easterly direction, through the territory of the Ligures, by the maritime Alp—the modern Corniche road by Monaco to Genoa. This is celebrated in the verses of Virgil as one of the roads by which the legions of Julius Cæsar poured down upon Italy—

> Aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monœci Descendens; gener adversis instructus Eois. Æneid. vi.

2. The second bears due east upon leaving Tarascon, and then, in a north easterly direction by the valley of the Durance, ascends the Cottian Alp, the modern Mont Genevre. This, of all the passes of the Alps, was the most frequented by the Romans, as leading to a great part of Gaul, to the Province, and to Spain. The new and magnificent road across this mountain was the last undertaken by Bonaparte.

3. The third road kept along the left bank of the Rhone, due north from Tarascon, as far as the territory of the Allobroges; after passing through them, it traversed the Graian Alp, and descended into Italy by the valley inhabited by the Salassi—that is, in modern geography, up the Rhone as far as the depart-

ment of the Isere, then to the Little St. Bernard, and thence into Italy by the valley of Aosta.*

By one of these routes Hannibal had to make his way from Tarascon to Italy; and the words παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν, "along the river," which frequently occur in Polybius, immediately discover that it was by the road up the Rhone, towards the Graian Alp.

Along this road, then, by the side of the river, we find Hannibal pressing forward with

Strabo, lib. iv.

* It is Strabo who informs us that these three passes, together with one other by the Rhœtian Alps, are mentioned by Polybius—his words are important.

Πολύβιος——Τέτταρας δ' ὑπερβάσεις ὀνομάζει μόνον· διὰ Λιγύων μὲν, τὴν ἔγγιστα τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει· ἔιτα τὴν διὰ Ταυρίνων, ἣν Ἀννίβας διῆλθεν· ἔιτα τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν· τετάρτην δὲ, τὴν διὰ Ῥαιτῶν. If these words are really the words of Polybius, and are to be preferred to the whole of the existing history, we may spare ourselves any farther trouble in seeking for a road for Hannibal across the Alps; because he is here decidedly stated to have gone by the country of the Taurini, which means by the Cottian Alp; and we must be content to remain for ever dissatisfied with the whole narrative of the march of Hannibal, which is completely at variance with this road. But it is evident that Strabo is not quoting any particular passage of Polybius, but merely enumerating the only four roads through the Alps mentioned by that author in different parts of his history. The interpolation, therefore, of ἣν Ἀννίβας διῆλθεν, is only a parenthetical comment, a *gloss* of Strabo's own, and not to be considered as quoted from Polybius.

all possible expedition;* "and after having marched," says Polybius, "for four days in succession, subsequent to the passage of the river, he came to a place called the Island."

Ἀννίβας δὲ ποιησάμενος ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τέτταρας ἡμέρας τὴν πορείαν ἀπὸ τῆς διαβάσεως, ἦκε πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην Νῆσον. c. 49.

The Island,† or "Insula Allobrogum," is well known, and Polybius's description of it

* Προῆγε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπὸ θαλάττης· ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν ὡς εἰς τὴν μεσόγαιον τῆς Εὐρώπης. c. 47.

"He proceeded along the river away from the sea,—thus marching first towards the east, then into the midland of Europe." I have never seen any satisfactory explanation of this sentence. Hannibal unquestionably marched up the Rhone, that is, northwards, towards the heart of Europe; but ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω, "towards the east," seems utterly unintelligible. I have placed the stop which usually follows the word ποταμὸν, after θαλάττης; and if we can understand the rest of the sentence to the march in general quite from Spain, Hannibal might safely be said to advance first "towards the east," then, crossing the Rhone and turning along the river away from the sea, "towards the centre of Europe." Some objection has been made to any passage of the Rhone below its confluence with the Durance, thereby incurring the necessity of crossing that river also; but the Durance in the autumn, at which time of the year Hannibal reached it, presents no sort of difficulty.

† The "Insula" is composed of the first, second, and almost the whole of the third arrondissement of the department of the Isere, together with five cantons of the first arrondissement of the department of the Drome; and the

which follows, is perfectly applicable to its present condition. It lies almost entirely within the department of the Isere, and was called an Island because the Rhone to the north and west, the Isere to the south, and the mountains of the Grande Chartreuse to the east, completely insulate it; and those who have visited this beautiful country can vouch for the justness of the appellation.

The distance of this island is about one hundred Roman miles from Tarascon,* which may appear an enormous space to be traversed by the Carthaginian army in so short a time as four days. Twenty-five miles per day is unquestionably a severe march; but it is in perfect accordance with the usual pace of Hannibal, who fell like a thunderbolt upon Italy, with a rapidity that not only amazed the conscript fathers at Rome, who found him upon the Po almost before they fancied him upon the Ebro; but excited the astonishment even of Scipio, who was himself dis-

population, according to a recent census, amounts to about 366,000 souls. Some of the richest land in France is to be met with in this district.

* The distance between the Isere and Roquemaure is stated by the Oxford authors to be precisely 75 miles; that between Roquemaure and Tarascon, measured on their map, is about 25—making altogether 100 M. P.

tinguished by the celerity of his movements. Hannibal had every reason for hastening the march—the wild country, and wilder tribes which encompassed him—the advanced season of the year—the precipitation of youthful ambition,* and, above all, an ardent desire to anticipate the Romans in his descent upon Italy,—all conspired to urge him onwards; while his army, devotedly attached to its general, and then particularly described as being ευζωνον, exhibited an impatience equal to his own—even the Roman, c. 35.

patriis acer Romanus in armis,
Injusto sub fasce viam quum carpit, et hosti
Ante exspectatum positis stat in agmine castris.
Virg. Georg. iii.

The Roman soldier, with the enormous burden he was compelled to carry, performed from twenty to twenty-two miles, as an ordinary day's march; and we shall find that even in the Alps, the Carthaginians did as much, or even more than that, for the three last days of their descent. Cic. Tusc. Qu. ii. 14. Veget. de Re. Mil. i. 19. —9.

* Hannibal was at this time about twenty-eight or twenty-nine years of age. The age of Bonaparte, when he made his first campaign to Italy, was twenty-six; he crossed the Great St. Bernard when he was thirty. Polybius speaks of Hannibal ἅτε νέος μὲν ὢν, πλήρης δὲ πολεμικῆς ὁρμῆς, ἐπιτυχὴς, δ'ἐν ταῖς επιβολαῖς. iii. c. 15.

The arrival of Hannibal at the island was followed by some remarkable occurrences. He here found two brothers in arms against each other, contending for the sovereignty of some Celtic tribe, the name of which is not given by Polybius. The Carthaginian general turned this quarrel to his own advantage; for, by lending his assistance to the elder brother, and dispossessing the younger, he so far gained the good-will of the successful chieftain, as to receive from him in return some very important favours. The Carthaginians obtained from the grateful barbarian a fresh supply of provisions and arms—of clothing and of shoes; which latter equipment they found of infinite use when they reached the higher parts of the mountains; but the greatest service of all that he rendered them, was, that while they were looking with anxiety towards the march through the country of the Gauls,

c 49. called Allobroges—ἐυλαβῶς διακειμένοις πρὸς τὴν διὰ τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων καλουμένων Γαλατῶν πορείαν, he protected the rear of the army with his own forces, covering their march, and rendering their passage secure, while they neared the main ascent of the Alps.

But,

> "As one who on his journey bates at noon,
> Though bent on speed,"

so must we pause awhile, and take into consideration whereabouts Hannibal had halted, and who these barbarians were, from whom he received so much assistance.

In the slender materials as yet extracted from Polybius, we have not sufficient light to elucidate these two points fully; but we may find something to assist us in the research.

Out of the three expressions,

ἦκε προς τὴν καλουμένην Νῆσον,

πρὸς ἣν ἀφικόμενος,

and καταλαβὼν ἐν αὐτῇ,

the last alone seems to indicate the arrival of Hannibal *in* the island. Even that might have the word χώρᾳ understood meaning the place which Hannibal had reached; but if it must be considered as applied to the Νῆσος, still it does not bear out the conjecture that he had made any progress in that country. On the contrary, that he had not advanced into it, we may collect both from the transaction with the barbarians being described as occurring immediately after the four days' march, without notice of any subsequent movement, and from the sentence quoted above—"That the army was under great apprehensions at the prospect of the march through the country of the Gauls, called Allobroges." Now, the Allobroges occupied the whole Insula, which

bore the name of the Insula Allobrogum ; and if the army was looking forward with dismay towards the march through the country of the Allobroges, it does not appear probable that they were further advanced than the mere confines of that people. The army had just grounds for its apprehensions. We shall find, as we proceed, that they were on the eve of entering a very difficult country, and the Allobroges are invariably represented as enemies using every effort to obstruct the march, until Hannibal completely routed them and sacked their city. Some writers have supposed that these friendly barbarians were a conciliated portion of the Allobrogian tribe : nothing in Polybius warrants this conjecture ; he never says so, nor can it even be inferred from any of his expressions : if they were not Allobroges, they must have been the distinct people who occupied the adjoining country on the south bank of the Isere, and these were the Segalauni.*

* The Segalauni might, perhaps, have had some lands on the north bank of the Isere, although that river would seem to form their natural boundary : outlying possessions of a similar description are recorded as belonging to other Gallic tribes. Three instances mentioned by Cæsar present themselves at this moment :—

I. The Allobroges occupied certain lands on the right bank of the Rhone. (B. G. i. 11.)

If we cast our eyes on any map of that part of France which once bore the name of Dauphiny, we perceive that the three towns of Valence, (Valentia,) Romans, and Tain, (Tegna,) form a nearly equilateral triangle; the Rhone flows on its western side, while the Isere, running from the eastern angle at Romans, divides the figure into nearly equal portions. Somewhere within the limits of this triangle, at one or other, perhaps, of the above-mentioned towns, the Carthaginians must have fallen in with their anonymous friends; and there, during a few days' halt, prepared themselves for ulterior and more hazardous operations. These extended limits are allowed for the purpose of allaying the alarms of those who, arguing from the words ἐν ἀυτῇ, require Hannibal to be positively within the Insula. In my own mind, I have not the slightest doubt but that Valence was the scene of these operations. Its distance from the place where the Rhone was passed is exactly, or almost exactly, 800 stadia, 100 M. P., and it will be shown that its position equally well agrees with the distance assigned to the first ascent

II. The Rhemi had some establishment north of the Axona (Aisne.) (B. G. ii. 6.)

III. The Menapii are represented as having possessions beyond the Rhine. (B. G. iv. 4.)

of the Alps. Hannibal is dealing with a people who are evidently *not* the Allobroges, and can therefore be no other than the Segalauni, of whom Valence was the capital; at Valence, too, the high-road turns away from the river, and leads directly towards the Alps. How far this position agrees with Hannibal's subsequent proceedings we shall discover as we follow him on his march.

Hannibal has now to proceed on his march, and at this point, all the doubts, difficulties, and disputes of all writers who undertake to trace his progress, have their origin. The Roman historian, who leads the literary host, makes the Carthaginians, after marching continually to the northward, now turn sharply round towards the south-east, and pursue their way to the Cottian Alp. In this he is followed by several authors, who, in fruitless attempts to produce harmony between him and Polybius, conduct Hannibal along the south side of the Isere to the Mont Genevre, or to the Mont Cenis. Others, again, abandoning Livy, have *almost* proved, from Polybius alone, that Hannibal marched a considerable way along the Rhone above its confluence with the Isere; and then, crossing the "Insula," and the mountains, which form its eastern side, in the neighbourhood of Les

Echelles, found his way to the valley of the Little St. Bernard by the town of Chambery, the ancient Lemincum. Above all, the erudite historian of Manchester, who has written copiously on the question, has astonished all those who have considered the subject, by boldly carrying Hannibal by an inexplicable route, to the foot of the Alps at Martigny, and thence across the Great St. Bernard.

The only roads by which Hannibal could possibly have gained the *Cottian* Alp from his position near the confluence of the Isere and the Rhone, are the following:—

I. The road by which Livy conducts the Carthaginians, was one which any Roman traveller in the days of Livy would probably have chosen. It led from Valence up the valley of the Druna, (Drome,) the country of the Vocontii, and thence by Vapincum, (Gap,) into the valley of the Durance, occupied by the Caturiges. The Saltus Taurinus, or Alpis Cottia, now the Mont Genevre, is at the sources of the Durance. By this road we find Cæsar at the head of five legions hurrying from Italy to oppose the Helvetii,* and Fabius Valens from the Rhine leading a division

Cæsar B.G.i. Tacit. Hist. i. 46. Gibbon, c. xiv.

* Cæsar was opposed by the Centrones, the Garoceli, and the Caturiges—the inhabitants of the high valleys of the Isere, the Arc, and the Durance. These mountaineers

of Vitellius's army against Otho. Constantine, too, on his way to seize the empire, and change the condition of the world. It seems to have become the most frequented passage of the mountains, after the Emilian Way and other roads on the Italian side had opened a more direct communication with the Cottian Alp.

There is no road of any magnitude from Valence along the south bank of the Isere, owing to the impracticable nature of the country. But,

II. Upon reaching the Drac, which falls into the Isere just below Grenoble, a road leads up the valley of that river, formerly the country of the Tricorii, to Gap, and so to the Cottian Alp.

III. From this road, another diverges, from the banks of the Drac up the valley of a tributary river, called the Romanche, anciently inhabited by the Uceni; and this road, which is given in the Theodosian Table, reaches the

would easily have communicated by the Col de la Vanoise between the Isere and the Arc; and by the Col de Galibier between the Arc and the Durance. Both these Cols were frequented during the wars in the Alps, in the time of Louis XIV. (See *the Memoires of Marshall Berwick*, vol. ii.) Cæsar treats the attacks of these people with great indifference, "Compluribus his pulsis prœliis," etc.

foot of the Cottian Alp at Brigantio (Briançon.)

IV. The fourth and last road, leading, not indeed to the Mont Genevre, but to the Mont Cenis,—and thus not to the Cottian Alp, strictly speaking,—is the famous modern road well known to all the world. It follows the stream of the Arc up the valley formerly inhabited by the Garoceli; but although so easy a pass to the modern traveller, there is no authority for believing it to have been used by the ancients.

All these roads have their respective advocates, in the hopeless task of making Livy agree with Polybius; the result is, that they accord with neither the Latin nor the Greek historian.

To reach the *Graian* Alp from the neighbourhood of Valence, Hannibal would have had two roads:

I. One, Roman through its whole extent, which would have led him to the north along the Rhone, as far as Vienne, the ancient "Vienna Allobrogum," the capital of the "Insula;" thence nearly due east over the Mont du Chat, where it would fall into the plain of Chambery, and afford an easy approach to the valley of Little St. Bernard. It is in this direction that General Melville, and those

writers who have adopted his opinion, conduct the Carthaginians; and so ably has this theory been supported, that to dispute it may appear almost like presumption. Nevertheless, after having been a complete convert to it myself for a length of time, some recent reflection upon the subject has allowed me to perceive it was not without difficulties, which, added to some further examination of the country, has led me to its abandonment, and, finally, to the adoption of a new line of march, which I now bring forward with a thorough conviction of its accuracy. The road which appears to me to be the right one is,

II. A road from Valence, short, obvious, and direct, up the valley of the Isere, crossing that river at Romans into the country of the Allobroges; and thence, by Grenoble, the ancient Gratianopolis, and still more ancient Cularo, to the entrance of the valley of the Little St. Bernard at Mont Meillan. It may, perhaps, *in limine* be objected to this road, that it was not open in the time of the Romans, for it is not mentioned in their Itineraries; but are we to imagine that so ostensible a line of communication, along so magnificent a valley, containing so antique and celebrated a city, and in which we now find a great road of unknown origin, could

ever have been destitute of a way up and down it, even in the earliest ages? It certainly seems strange that no Roman road through it is upon record; but Valence communicated with Italy by the Cottian Alps, while Vienna and Lyons, on the north, reached the Graian Alp by the Mont du Chat. No *post* road, therefore, would have been wanted between Valence and Mont Meillan; but I shall adduce one proof that some sort of road existed there as early as about B. C. 40—"Consule Planco," the materials of which are collected from the 10th and 11th books of Cicero's Letters.

Lucius Munatius Plancus, at the head of an army in Gaul, dates a letter to Cicero from Cularo.* He was there evidently communicating both up and down the valley, because on the west he had thrown a bridge across the Isere, near its union with the Rhone; and on the east he was expecting to be joined by the forces of Decimus Brutus, who, at that time, was at Eporedia, Ivrea in Piedmont, and consequently intending to pass the Graian Alp.

Up the valley of the Isere, by way of Gre-

* It is true that this date is commonly written, "*Civa*rone, ex finibus Allobrogum," which is clearly a mistake for "*Cul*arone."

noble, (the straightest road towards the Alps,) I conceive Hannibal to have marched from the city of Valence; whether along a Roman highway or not is of little consequence, for we are not now, as we were, between the Pyrenees and the Rhone, restricted to "a road measured and marked by the Romans."

Polybius thus resumes the narrative—

c. 50. *Ἀννίβας δ' ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα—πορευθεὶς παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν εἰς ὀκτακοσίους σταδίους, ἤρξατο τῆς πρὸς τὰς Ἄλπεις ἀναβολῆς.*

"Hannibal, after ten days, having marched along the Rhone to the distance of 800 stadia, began the ascent towards the Alps."

The historian here sums up the time and distance passed by Hannibal on the banks of the Rhone previous to his striking away from that river towards the Alps. The 800 stadia, or 100 M. P., is exactly the distance between Tarascon and Valence; and the ten days seem to be composed of the four days' march from Tarascon, added to six which we may safely assign as the period of his stay among the friendly barbarians.

In common with the other readers of Polybius, I had always, until lately, believed that this distance of 800 stadia along the Rhone, ought to be measured north of its confluence with the Isere, apparently for no better reason

than because it happens to be mentioned after the notice of Hannibal's arrival at the Insula. But there is nothing in Polybius that supports such a notion; and two reasons out of many will be sufficient to allege against it; perhaps after the first is stated, the second may be deemed superfluous.

I. In the first place, *the thing cannot be done.* There is no possibility, with any rational result, to produce a march of 100 M. P. along the river, *after* Hannibal's arrival upon the Isere. Those who carry the Carthaginians to the Cottian Alp, and explain παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν as meaning the Isere, the Drac, the Romanche, or the Arc, are evidently forcing a meaning from the words, of which they will not admit; while those who point towards the Graian Alp, allow themselves great latitude, in measuring the distance along the river, for they make Hannibal turn away from it at Vienne, about forty miles only above the Isere, and are satisfied with his approaching it again at Aouste, near the foot of the Mont du Chat.

II. If the 100 M. P. "along the river" are measured *after* Hannibal's arrival at the Insula, wherever they terminate, the Alps ought to begin; because 75 M. P. having already

been calculated between Roquemaure and the Isere, the whole Polybian distance (175 M. P.) between the passage of the Rhone and the Alps would be completed. But instead of meeting with the Alps, we meet with a battle, and the capture of a town, which is completely at variance with Polybius, who places these events at the interval of two days' march from the foot of the Alps. For we shall find that a halt of one day at the captured town, and a subsequent march of two days, are reckoned among the eighteen days counted between the said town and the plains of the Po; out of which eighteen days, fifteen* only are allotted to the passage of the Alps. It follows, therefore, that the fight with the Allobroges, and the capture of their town, was at the distance of two days' march before the commencement of the Alps.

I might add, that 100 M. P. in ten days—ten miles a day only—would have been extraordinarily slow marching, and so utterly unlike

p. 115. * The Oxford authors are of opinion that we ought to read eighteen instead of fifteen days, in Polybius; because with them the fight with the Allobroges, and the first ascent of the Alps, are contemporaneous events. But Livy, who here translates Polybius, supports the reading, "Quinto decimo die alpibus superatis."

Tit. Liv. xxi. c. 38.

the rest of Hannibal's proceedings, that of itself it is sufficient to create some suspicion of an erroneous interpretation.

It is, then, from the banks of the Rhone, in the vicinity of its confluence with the Isere, that Hannibal, "after ten days, having marched along the river to the distance of 800 stadia," began the ascent πρὸς τὰς Ἄλπεις "*towards* the Alps"—not τῶν Ἀλπεων "of the Alps"—the first day's march would have carried him to the banks of the Isere, and the hostile territory of the Allobroges, separated by the stream of that river only, lay before him. It will now become necessary to watch his progress with increased vigilance, and to observe in what degree the nature of the country corresponds with the events recorded by Polybius. If this part of the march should be found treated too much in detail, it must be remembered that the topography is new as connected with Hannibal's operations, having never yet been compared with the description given in history; while the author, convinced of the truth of his theory, pleads guilty to the justness of the remark,

> "To observations we ourselves do make,
> We grow more partial for the observer's sake."

The town of Valence, situated close upon

the left bank of the Rhone, lays claim to an antiquity as remote as almost any town in France, but it has preserved scarce a single relic of its original inhabitants; all that I met with were two insignificant bas-reliefs inserted in the walls of the convent of the Sœurs Grises: one of these marbles, probably a sepulchral memorial, represents a male and female figure, together with two children. In the other fragment an arch is discoverable, under which stand two men—one clad apparently in the "weeds of peace," the other in the "paludamentum" of war: under an adjoining arch is seen the figure of a soldier seated, and leaning forward on his shield. No inscription which might have recorded the name of the Segalauni was to be heard of; but as D'Anville observes, "Ptolémée indiquant *Valentia* chez les *Segalauni*, entre Vienne des *Allobroges* et les *Tricastini*, ne laisse aucun doute sur l'emplacement de ce peuple."

Notice de la Gaule, p. 590.

The distance of Valence from Tarascon agrees so closely with the 100 M. P. "along the river," of Polybius, that no objection to it on that ground can possibly be raised; while its position *in front* of the "Insula," being the last town before arriving in that country, and distant not five miles from the Port de

l'Isere, agrees most satisfactorily with the words πρὸς τὴν and πρὸς ἣν, as used by Polybius. At Valence, the road by which we arrive from Tarascon, divides; forming two branches, between which we have now to choose.

I. One branch continues its course at no great distance from the bank of the Rhone, passing the Isere, near the confluence of the two rivers, over a splendid stone bridge, nearly 200 yards in length, composed of seven arches, of which the last on the northern extremity has never been finished, but remains constructed of wood, to prevent the sacrifice of a stone arch in the event of war: on the southern side, the bridge is approached by a causeway of considerable magnitude; this traverses a low tract of land, cultivated, although the furious devastations of the Isere do not always allow the poor inhabitants to reap what they sow. The road continues along the side of the Rhone without interruption until it reaches Lyons; and being the principal thoroughfare between Marseilles and that city, is thronged with an endless succession of loaded waggons.

II. The other road from Valence, quitting the neighbourhood of the Rhone, and taking a north-easterly direction, broad and straight,

traverses a continued plain, interrupted only by two curious winding hollows in its surface, resembling the deserted beds of rivers. The upper soil of this plain is a gravelly clay, containing large boulders, of which the old battlemented walls and turrets of Valence are constructed. The country is far from beautiful, but well cultivated, and produces great quantities of silk. At the Péage de Pizançon, opposite the town of Romans, the road comes upon the Isere, rolling a very considerable body of water between deep and steep banks of sand and alluvium.

Between these two roads, both conducting us to the "Insula," we have no difficulty in deciding. The distance of 800 stadia, 100 M. P., παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν "along the river," having expired at Valence, we must at that town turn *away* from the Rhone, and, consequently, take the road leading towards Romans, which not only quits the banks of the river, but encourages us as presenting a most obvious and direct approach towards the Alps. The distance between Valence and Romans is about ten miles. Hannibal would, therefore, easily reach the Péage de Pizançon from Valence in a short day's march; and it probably cost him but little time to carry his army over the Isere. The river is here about 140 yards

across. Plancus, in his letters to Cicero, more than once boasts of his expedition in throwing a bridge across the Isere in a single day. "Itaque in Isarâ, flumine maximo, quod in finibus est Allobrogum, ponte uno die facto, exercitum a. d. quartum Idus Maii traduxi." This was in the month of May, at which season the waters of this river are ~~not~~ at their greatest height. Polybius does not inform us by what means the Carthaginians contrived to effect their passage: but we may argue from his silence that they encountered no obstacle, and reached the opposite shore of the "Insula" in safety.

Cic. Ep. ad diver. x. 15. — 21.

It was at Romans, therefore, that Hannibal entered upon the dreaded territory of the Allobroges "gens," as Livy calls them, "jam inde nullâ gallicâ gente opibus aut famâ inferior;" from whom, when they at last submitted to the Roman arms, one hundred years after the time of Hannibal, a Fabius Maximus did not disdain to receive the honourable appellation of Allobrogicus. They must either have been remarkable for their ferocity, or have from the beginning declared their determination to oppose Hannibal, for his army began to entertain apprehensions of them even before it entered their territories. Hannibal had now fairly invaded the "Insula."

Tit. Liv. xxi. 31.

Polyb. iii. 50. Καὶ συνέβη μεγίστοις ἀυτὸν περιπεσεῖν κινδύνοις.

"And it happened that very great dangers befell him."

But not immediately, for Polybius goes on to inform us that,

ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις ἦσαν, ἀπείχοντο πάντες ἀυτῶν οἱ κατὰ μέρος ἡγεμόνες τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων, τὰ μὲν τοὺς ἱππεῖς δεδιότες, τὰ δὲ τοὺς παραπέμποντας βαρβάρους.

"As long as they (the Carthaginians) were in the plains, all the chieftains of the Allobroges, in succession, kept aloof from them, some fearing the cavalry, others the barbarians who accompanied the army."

For some time, therefore, we are not to expect to meet any mountains; and we shall observe in the sequel how far an open country answering that description will be found to extend.

Leaving the old walls and battlements of Romans behind us, we ascend to a wide elevated plain, across which the road, broad, direct, and lined on each side with mulberry and walnut trees, stretches for about seven miles as straight as an arrow towards the Poste of Les Fauris. On looking back, the view to the westward is bounded by the distant hazy hills of the Viverais beyond the Rhone; on our right, on the opposite side of the Isere, a

fine range of limestone mountains takes a course from south-west to north-east. We see their sides, which form the boundary of the low country in that direction, riven and split into the most fantastic and picturesque gorges, cliffs, and chasms, one of which, at Pont en Royans, is a favourite resort of the Parisian artists. A low range of undulating sand-hills, forming a semicircular sweep from Romans to Les Fauris, bounds the plain towards the north. These hills, compared with the plain, have a sterile aspect; they are, nevertheless, extensively cultivated, and the vine thrives in many places along their sides. They are, in fact, a part of the same range, which, at its western extremity, near Tain, upon the Rhone, after undergoing a change of soil, produces the famous Vin de l'Ermitage; and there an acre of its slope sells for a thousand guineas. These hills confine the view on the north, and by approaching the Isere at Les Fauris, they oblige the road to descend close to the river, and to continue under their sandstone cliffs and slopes until it emerges again, after passing the stream of the Furand. We pass this torrent, which, although generally a mere rivulet, is sometimes a considerable river, by a ford. Its waters, some years ago, carried away a stone bridge, which has not yet been replaced.

The ruins of an ancient château, which once defended the passage, are seen upon the heights to the left. Many such old dilapidated forts are scattered over this country once tenanted by the powerful and turbulent Seigneurs of Dauphiny, the successors, and probably no bad representatives, of the Allobrogian chieftains of the days of Hannibal. Rising from the bed of the Furand, we find ourselves again upon a plain similar to the last; the sand-hills once more retire to the left; they are now more wooded, and many houses are visible on their sides. On the right, the plain through which the Isere flows, in a bed too deep to admit of its being visible, reaches to the foot of the lofty limestone mountains of Sassenage, which we begin to perceive we are approaching in an oblique direction. The road again continues in a perfectly straight line for some miles, until it reaches the little town of St. Marcellin, where the sand-hills, having formed another semicircular sweep, again come in contact with it. From the terrace above St. Marcellin, on the north, near the château of Bellevue, we command a magnificent prospect—a plain on each side of the town, traversed by our road, lies to the west and east. In front is expanded all the rich valley intermediate between us

and the Sassenage mountains; these are now so near that all their romantic crevices are perfectly distinguishable, and are lighted up to great advantage by an evening sun. The most remarkable are, one towards Pont en Royans before mentioned, and another at Iseron, further to the east. Between the two, overhanging a ravine, we see the ruins of the ancient Castle of Beauvoir, once the residence of the old Dauphins; where, in 1335, André, the infant heir of Humbert II., the last of the Dauphins, came to some doubtful and untimely end. The little inn of St. Marcellin, Le petit Paris, enjoys the distinction of being noticed by the "Hermite en Provence:" the talkative old landlord, *l'historien des vignes de l'Isere*, appears to have been gathered unto his fathers, but his cellar and good cheer survive in great perfection; and mine hostess makes amends for the unpromising exterior of her mansion by supplying her guests with excellent beds. After traversing another plain upon quitting St. Marcellin, we again meet the sand-hills, and are near enough to the Isere to see it flowing in a deep channel at their base: their slopes are a mixture of cultivation and coppices of Spanish chesnut. We descend again at the mill of Tesche; the plain now assumes a very

luxuriant aspect, and is well protected on the north by the sand-hills, which are here completely covered with a rich clothing of vines. In the middle of the plain stands Vinay, at the extremity Lalbenc. We now commence an ascent winding between the hills, which undulate agreeably, and are covered with brushwood. Among them, in a little elevated plain, the village of Chantese is prettily situated. Ascending again, we find ourselves considerably above the Isere and its plain. Connected with the sand-hills on which we are, and at no great distance on the right of our road, we may observe low blocks of limestone appearing in several places, remarkable as being detached from the massive range of that rock on the other side of the Isere. Just before we commence the descent of these hills, and about a quarter of an hour before reaching Tullins, at the inn of Morette, we come upon a fine bold "bout du monde," presenting a magnificent prospect. A plain of extraordinary fertility lies below us; the hills on which we stand forming a semicircular bend to the north, are connected at their eastern extremity with the fine craggy mountains of the Grande Chartreuse, which rise immediately in front of us to the eastward. Those of Sassenage on our right are nearer and more

magnificent than ever; and the Isere, in a wide straggling current, is seen emerging from the jaws of its valley at Voreppe. Near this town the precipices of the Sassenage and the cliffs of the Grande Chartreuse lock so closely, that the entrance of the valley leading to Grenoble is, in some lights, absolutely indistinguishable, and we are at a loss to know whence the river can possibly come. Tullins is nearly at the bottom of the descent; the adjacent country is some of the richest of all the rich vale of Grésivaudan; a proverb exists, "Si le Dauphiné etait un Mouton Tullins en serait le rognon." Through this luxuriant tract we continue until we arrive at Moirans. Moirans is the ancient Morginnum, and is thus noticed by D'Anville:—"On trouve ce lieu dans la Table Théodosienne sur la route de Vienne à *Cularo* ou Grenoble—et la distance à l'égard de *Cularo* est marquée XIIII. Cette distance est tres-convenable entre Grenoble et Moirans selon la mesure du mille comme on ne peut se dispenser de l'employer dans l'étendue de la Province Romaine, et le nom de Moirans conserve encore du rapport à la denomination qui donne la Table. Dans les titres du Dauphiné ce nom est *Moirencum*, et il n'est pas encore hors

Notice de la Gaule, p. 465.

d'usage d'écrire Moirenc." This is the first town since leaving Valence that is noticed by any Roman writer, or in any of the Itineraries. No doubt, however, can be entertained of a road having existed from the earliest periods, and kept the very line we now travel. Along this line are seated the towns of Romans, St. Marcellin, Vinay, Lalbenc, and Tullins, and have so existed immemorially; while the wrecks of numerous old castles, destined for the defence or plunder of the country, point out this as the principal line of communication.

At Moirans we are almost at the extremity of the plains. In less than an hour from it we find ourselves immediately under an abrupt escarpment of limestone rocks, which extending from Voreppe upon the Isere to St. Genix upon the Rhone, completely shut up the "Insula" on the east with a natural wall of precipices, well described by Polybius as

iii. 49. ὄρη δυσπρόσοδα καὶ δυσέμβολα, καὶ σχεδὸν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀπρόσιτα.

"Mountains hard of approach and ascent, and almost, one might say, inaccessible."

These are the mountains, in the heart of which, at a great elevation, encircled by rocks, forests, and waterfalls of the most

terrific grandeur, stands the famous monastery of the Grande Chartreuse.

" Del rigido Brunon segreta stanza."

Those awful mountain solitudes where the imagination of Gray discovered the haunt of the " Spirit of the Fell."

" Non leve
Nativa nam certè fluenta
Numen habet, veteresque sylvas,
Præsentiorem et conspicimus Deum
Per invias rupes, fera per juga,
Clivosque præruptos, sonantes
Inter aquas, nemorumque noctem."

At the foot of these mountains, the plains, such as I have described them, come to an end. These were the plains traversed by the Carthaginians under the escort of the friendly barbarians. It must have been at Moirans that this people took leave of Hannibal; by venturing to accompany him farther into the narrow valley of the Isere, they might have compromised the security of their march homewards. Moirans may be about thirty-two miles from Romans—two easy days' march. St. Marcellin, which is exactly half-way, was perhaps the spot, then some Allobrogian village, at which the army halted during the night.

The chieftains* of the Allobroges *κατὰ μέρος*, "in detail," had hitherto offered no interruption to the march of the Carthaginians; but we now find them collecting together a sufficient force, and projecting a combined attack upon Hannibal, to be made at a certain part of the road farther on, where the nature of the ground afforded them peculiar advantages.

50. *ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπηλλάγησαν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἤρξαντο πρόαγειν εἰς τὰς δυσχωρίας, τότε συναθροισθέντες οἱ τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων ἡγεμόνες, ἱκανὸν τὸ πλῆθος, προκατελάβοντο τοὺς εὐκαίρους τόπους, δι' ὧν ἔδει τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν κατ' ἀνάγκην ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀναβολήν.*

"But when they (the friendly barbarians) turned back to their own country, and Hannibal's people began to approach the difficult places, then the chieftains of the Allobroges, collecting together a sufficient number, pre-

Polyb. ii. 17. B. G. vi. 15. M. G. xiii. ch. xiii.

* These Allobrogian chieftains were probably the heads of separate clans. We find the Cisalpine Gauls prided themselves on the number of followers they could retain. Cæsar tells the same of the Gauls in general; and Tacitus in like manner describes the sort of clanship that existed in Germany. This state of society is, in fact, common to all barbarous nations. It is justly remarked by Gibbon, that "many of those institutions, referred by an easy solution to the feudal system, are derived from the Celtic barbarians."

occupied the advantageous positions, through which it was absolutely necessary for Hannibal's men to make a passage."

We shall discover, as we proceed, where these δὺσχωρίαι and ἐυκάιροι τόποι are to be found; in the mean time, it is only necessary to remark, that the words κατ' ἀνάγκην imply but *one single pass*, through which alone the march could possibly be effected. This would clearly be the case if an army had got into the valley of the Isere, on the southern side of the "Insula," by Voreppe; whereas, from St. Genix, at the northern extremity of the mountainous range, the Mont du Chat, the Montagne de l'Epine, and the Aiguebellette, each offer roads much alike in point of practicability, and consequently the words κατ' ἀνάγκην are inapplicable to any one of them.

To proceed—Polybius informs us, that had the enemy but kept their intentions secret, they must infallibly have destroyed the Carthaginian army; but, as their design became apparent, although they did great injury to Hannibal, they suffered no less severely themselves in return.

Γνοὺς γὰρ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ὅτι προκατέχουσιν οἱ βαρβάροι τοὺς ἐυκάιρους τόπους,

αὐτὸς μὲν καταστρατοπεδέυσας πρὸς ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς, ἐπέμενε.

"But the general of the Carthaginians, knowing that the barbarians were pre-occupying the advantageous positions, remained himself encamped in front of the heights."

It is quite impossible to hesitate for a moment in perceiving that this place of Hannibal's encampment, πρὸς ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς, was at Moirans, or in its immediate vicinity. It is so clearly "just in front of the heights" of the Grande Chartreuse, and so ostensible a situation for a halt, while the plans of the enemy in advance were investigated, that no doubt can be entertained upon the subject. Voreppe is almost too much within the entrance of the valley to come under the definition of πρὸς ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς, "in front of," or "before the heights." Moirans stands upon a knoll, surrounded by a plain of uncommon fertility, with a stream of water flowing by its side, and presents every convenience for the stay of an army.

Hannibal, therefore, remained himself encamped at Moirans.

c. 50. προέπεμψε δὲ τινας τῶν καθηγουμένων αὐτοῖς Γαλατῶν, χάριν τοῦ κατασκέψασθαι τὴν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ἐπίνοιαν, καὶ τὴν ὅλην ὑπόθεσιν.

"But he sent forward some of the Gauls, who acted as their guides, for the purpose of discovering the resolution of the enemy, and the whole design."

These were the Gauls from the plains of the Po, who accompanied the army, and are described by Livy as "haud sane multum linguâ moribusque abhorrentes." They must have had some means of ingratiating themselves with the Allobroges, for it appears their mission succeeded. Tit. Liv. xxi. 32.

ὧν πραξάντων τὸ συνταχθὲν, ἐπιγνοὺς ὁ στρατηγὸς, ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐπιμελῶς παρευτακτοῦσι καὶ τηροῦσι τοὺς τόπους οἱ πολέμιοι, τὰς δὲ νύκτας εἴς τινα παρακειμένην πόλιν ἀπαλλάττονται· πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἁρμοζόμενος, συνεστήσατο πρᾶξιν τοιαύτην. Polyb. iii. c. 50.

"These men having executed what was enjoined, the general, informed that the enemy carefully guarded and watched the positions every day, but retired every night to an adjacent town, arranging his plans to meet this design, determined upon the following mode of action."

Putting his army in motion, *προῆγεν ἐμφανῶς*, "he advanced openly."

Soon after leaving Moirans, we come in face of the valley, up which we gain an insight to a considerable distance. The detached and

abrupt mountain which overhangs the village of La Buiserade, about a mile from the gates of Grenoble, forms the last and most conspicuous object on the left. At Voreppe the valley is entered, lying in all its beauty and richness between arid walls of precipitous mountains. We pass the village of Fontanils, with its enormous masses of limestone, fallen in former ages from the cliffs above. We look up the ravine formed by the torrent of the Tenaison; in the middle of which rises a mountain peaked with a pinnacle of rock in a most remarkable manner; through this opening ascends the road to the village of Sapey, one of the approaches to the Grande Chartreuse. We now arrive immediately under the towering precipice of the mountain above La Buiserade. Winding round the foot of this stupendous crag, we meet in both the country and the road so remarkable a change as to demand very particular notice. The plain now lies entirely on the opposite, the *left* bank of the Isere, which, while it turns the angle formed by the southern point of the Grande Chartreuse mountains, flows immediately at their base. A steep talus, composed of the wreck and rubbish of the rocks above, extends from La Buiserade on the west, to La Trorche on the east of Grenoble. About the

middle of this talus a ridge of the rock itself bearing the name of Mont Rachais descends quite to the Isere, and forms the cliffs overhanging the river. By the Mont Rachais, which is, as it were, the citadel of the city, Grenoble is concealed from our view; but two forts, one the old Tower of Rabot, standing near the edge of the cliffs; the other, far higher, called the Bastille, are very conspicuous. The *modern* road, after rising from La Buiserade to St. Martin-le-Vinoux, sinks again to the bank of the Isere, and enters Grenoble by the Porte de France, immediately under the cliffs, where the space between the rock and the river cannot exceed fifty feet. The *ancient* road, still perfectly distinguishable, turned more to the left, and passing along the talus, now covered with vines and fruit-trees, reached the heights of Mont Rachais near Fort Rabot. Such is the country, and such the objects we come upon at La Buiserade. They will shortly require some further examination; but the first burst of it all upon the view, is sufficient to show that here, along these declivities and rocky heights, are the δυσχωρίαι, through which the Carthaginians had of necessity to pass; there, at the Bastile, are the ευκάιροι τόποι, "the advantageous positions," commanding the road

across Mont Rachais, daily guarded by the Allobroges; and in Grenoble, the ancient Cularo, we find, beyond all doubt, the "adjacent town" to which they retired during the night.

But to return to Hannibal, who from Moirans "advanced openly."

c. 50. Καὶ συνεγγίσας τᾶις δυσχωρίαις, οὐ μακρὰν τῶν πολεμίων κατεστρατοπέδευσε.

"And having drawn near to the difficult places, he encamped at no great distance from the enemy."

Whatever security we may have experienced in fixing upon Moirans as the place of his last encampment, is nothing compared with the certainty with which we now *see* him taking up a position at La Buiserade. At La Buiserade "the difficult places" begin, and La Buiserade is "at no great distance" from either "the advantageous positions," or the town occupied by the enemy. We derive additional evidence from the succeeding sentence:—

c. 50. Τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης, συντάξας τὰ πυρὰ κάιειν, τὸ μὲν πλεῖον μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε· τοὺς δ' ἐπιτηδειοτάτους ἐυζώνους ποιήσας, διῆλθε τὰ στενὰ τὴν νύκτα, καὶ κατέσχε τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων προκαταληφθέντας τόπους, ἀποκεχωρηκότων τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

"But the following night, having com-

manded the fires to be lighted, he left the greater part of his forces there; and having caused the most proper men to arm themselves lightly, he passed through the narrow places during the night, and seized the positions deserted by the enemy; the barbarians having, according to custom, retired to the city."

From these words it would appear that the Allobroges were not likely to have descended from the heights until after they had observed the fires burning in Hannibal's camp, and were persuaded the Carthaginians were quietly settled for the night. The position of the encampment must therefore have been visible from these heights. Now, La Buiserade is the only situation along the valley, which, without being *upon* "the difficult places"—that is, upon the slope between the mountains and the Isere above described—is discernible from the heights of Mont Rachais. Every thing, before arriving at La Buiserade, is completely concealed by that lofty mountain, already mentioned as overhanging that village. No doubt, then, can exist as to the exact spot of this encampment. It was from La Buiserade, therefore, that Hannibal with some choice troops lightly armed, passing along the road, narrow and difficult as it now became, ascended Mont Rachais, and took

possession of the heights of the Bastille, while the Allobroges were sleeping securely in their town below.

Where was this town? The exact position of Grenoble, when in its earliest days it bore the name of Cularo, has never been positively ascertained. It is very certain that it stood on the *right* bank of the Isere; and the quarter of the modern town still on that side of the river, although a mere suburb, is always looked upon as the most ancient portion of the city. It is composed of one long street between the river and the rock, bearing at one extremity the name of St. Laurent, at the other that of La Perrière; between the two is the "Montée de Chalemont," (Scala Montis,) by which a road ascended the heights of Mont Rachais. It is scarcely possible that so confined and inconvenient a situation, pressed on one side by the river, on the other by the rock, and exposed to inundations and "eboulemens," could ever have been the scite of the ancient Cularo. La Tronche, a little further eastward, presents a much more probable position. At La Tronche there is a rising ground, agreeably placed between the plain and the talus of the mountains, chosen by the citizens of Grenoble for the situation of their villas: here, too, is a stream, and

here is the "Peage de la Tronche,"* the ferry across the Isere, which has existed from the earliest times. The modern city, with the exception of St. Laurent and La Perrière, is situated entirely on the left bank of the river. It was first enlarged on that side by the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian. The road from Rome to Vienne passed through the town, and the inscriptions placed by the Emperors over the gateways are still upon record. That upon the Roman, or Jovian gate, was thus worded—

DD. NN. IMP. CÆS. CAIVS. AVRELIVS. DIOCLETIANVS. PIVS. FELIX. INVICTVS. AVG. ET. IMP. CÆS. MARCVS. AVRELIVS. MAXIMIANVS. PIVS. FELIX. INVICTVS. AVG. MVRIS. CVLARONENSIBVS. CVM. INTERIORIBVS. ÆDIFICIIS. PROVIDENTIA. SVA. INSTITVTIS. ATQVE. PERFECTIS. PORTAM. ROMANAM. IOVIAM. VOCARI. IVSSERVNT.

* "Ce péage appartenait anciennement à l'empire. L'Empereur Henri, par un acte daté de Gênes, du 16 Fevrier 1312, le céda à Hugues, Baron de Faucigny, qui le transmit à Humbert II. Lorsque Humbert dota le couvent de Montfleury, il lui fit cession du péage de la Tronche. Je raconterai à ce sujet qu'en 1351, les dames de Montfleury traitèrent avec un marchand de fer de Moirans, nommé Martin Roux. Elles déchargèrent lui et ses successeurs de tous droits de péage, à condition qu'on leur donnerait chaque année un livre de poivre et un livre de gingembre." —*Histoire de Grenoble, par M. Pilot, p.* 282.

The inscription over the Vienne, or Herculean gate, was the same—substituting only *Viennensem Herculeam* for *Romanam Ioviam.* The Porta Romana, which long retained the corrupt appellation of *Porte Traine,* was pulled down in 1591, when the city was enlarged by the famous Constable Lesdiguieres, the hero of Dauphiny. The Porta Viennensis existed as lately as the year 1804, when that also was sacrificed. The road from Rome by the Mont Genevre entered Grenoble at the Porta Romana; that from Vienne, the road by which we have travelled since leaving Moirans, descending Mont Rachais in front of the convent of Sainte Marie-d'en-haut, crossed the Isere somewhere near the present Pont de Bois, and entered the town by the Porta Viennensis. At the close of the fourth century the Emperor Gratian altered the name of Cularo into that of Gratianopolis, and made it the seat of a bishoprick. It would almost seem from the circumstance of the bishoprick being established on the right bank of the Isere, as if the city of Diocletian was looked upon as nothing more than a mere suburb.* But the most important benefits

* "La paroisse de St. Laurent, comme la plus ancienne de la ville, jouissait anciennement du droit de primauté. Son clergé avant la revolution avait encore le pas sur celui des autres eglises."—*Id. p.* 13.

received by Grenoble were through the hands of the Constable Lesdiguieres. This celebrated man first provided for the defence of the city by building the fort of the Bastille, which he connected with the town below by two walls; these, diverging from the fort, descend in a zigzag direction on each side of Mont Rachais to the river—exactly in the style of the walls of a Greek acropolis. An old gateway, now blocked up, admitted the Vienne road; but this entrance was watched by a strong guard placed in the adjoining fort of Rabot.* Near this fort, at the edge of the cliffs, we may still observe where the rocks have been worn smooth by the traffic that was formerly carried on along this road. It would be tedious and unnecessary to attempt an enumeration of the various works of Lesdiguieres at Grenoble, and in its neighbourhood. Two of them, however, are of importance to our present inquiry, and ought not to be omitted. Lesdiguieres protected Grenoble from an enemy more dangerous than even man. The city had been frequently a victim to the most dreadful inundations. The Isere, which traverses the town, and the impetuous Drac, which anciently rolled close

* Fort Rabot was erected before the time of Lesdiguieres, in the year 1532.

under the western ramparts, committed, on several occasions recorded by history in both verse and prose, such tremendous havoc as to give rise to the prophecy of

"Serpens et Draco devorabunt urbem,"

a translation of which, in the patois of the country, is still current—

"Lo Serpein et lo Dragon
Mettron Grenoblo en savon."

The Isere is now confined by handsome quays, and is not more than ninety or one hundred yards in breadth. Time, labour, and art had in vain, before the days of Lesdiguieres, attempted to controul the fury of the Drac. It was he who effectually completed this great undertaking, and by carrying the torrent in a new channel, fortified by powerful dams, threw it to such a distance from the town, that it now falls harmless into the Isere, opposite La Buiserade. His other work was opening the road under the cliffs of Mont Rachais. "Il y avait," says M. Pilot, p. 218, "au pied de ce rocher un passage appellé dans les actes *Malum passetum*, qui appartenait au chapitre de Saint Martin. La grande route traversait encore à cette époque la hauteur de Rabot. Du coté de la Tronche, il n'y avait

qu'un petit chemin qui suivait le côteau jusqu'au lieu appellé 'le péage.'" It was at this spot, where, as I have before stated, there cannot be even now an interval of more than fifty feet, that Lesdiguieres constructed the Porte de France. We now read the words "Porte de France" in large characters over the gateway. The following inscription, in imitation of that of Diocletian, was washed over in the time of the revolution :—

"Ludovicus XIII. Galliarum et Navarræ rex, pius, felix, invictus, Gratianopoli Monte auctâ, ejusque muris, propugnaculis et interioribus ædificiis providentiâ suâ, et curâ Francisci Bonnæ, ducis Digueriarum, paris et Mareschalli Franciæ, proregis Delphinatûs, institutis atque perfectis, portam hanc regiam vocari jussit MDCXX."

In 1824 the French commenced the construction of immense works at the fort of the Bastille, which are now going on with increased activity; and which, when completed, will render it nearly impregnable.

From this hasty survey of the progressive alterations and improvements of Grenoble, we are enabled to collect that in the time of Hannibal,

I. Cularo stood on the right bank of the Isere, probably at, or near, La Tronche.

II. That the main road to it from La Buiserade led along the declivity above the Isere, passed along Mont Rachais near Fort Rabot, descended near the convent of Sainte Marie-d'en-haut, and continued along the declivity on the other side as far as the "Péage de la Tronche."

III. That the united currents of the Isere and the Drac, then unrestrained as they were afterwards by dams and quays, prevented the existence of any safe path, perhaps of even the *Malum passetum*, below Mont Rachais.

IV. That the state of the plain at the confluence of these two furious streams would have frustrated any attempt on the part of the Carthaginians to turn the positions of Mont Rachais by crossing the rivers.

V. Lastly, we find the position of the Bastille considered, both by Lesdiguieres and by Marshal Soult, one of the utmost importance, as commanding the passage.

We left Hannibal in possession of this advantageous position; his army at La Buiserade at one end of the "difficult places;" the Allobroges at the other near La Tronche. It is now time to take up the words of Polybius.

Οὗ συμβάντος, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιγενομένης, οἱ βάρβαροι συνθεασάμενοι τὸ γεγονὸς, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἀπέστησαν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς. c. 51.

" This being done, and the day having come on, the barbarians, discovering what had happened, refrained at first from an attack."

The " adjacent town" must have been very near the " advantageous positions," for the Allobroges to have gone to it and from it without difficulty, as well as to have allowed of their discerning from below any occurrences that took place upon the heights. Such is La Tronche in relation to the Bastille. The elevation of this fort above the Isere may be about 1,200 feet; the ascent to it would be easily accomplished in half an hour. One of the principal objections to the Mont du Chat, or to any other pass in that part of the " Insula," is the distance of the town, whether Chambéry, (Lemincum,) or Bourget, from the summit of the pass. The Allobroges could scarcely have got down from their positions in the evening, before it would have been time for them to re-ascend in the morning.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, θεωροῦντες, τὸ τῶν ὑποζυγίων πλῆθος καὶ τοὺς ἵππεις δυσχερῶς ἐκμηρυομένους καὶ μακρῶς τὰς δυσχωρίας, ἐξεκλήθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος, ἐξάπτεσθαι τῆς πορείας. c. 51.

" After this, perceiving the numerous

beasts of burden and the cavalry defiling through the difficult places arduously and protractedly, they were encouraged by the opportunity to attack the line of march."

When the Carthaginian army broke up from the encampment at La Buiserade, they would first have to wind "with toilsome march their long array" along the shaggy steep of the side of St. Martin-le-Vinoux, and then to pass across the heights by Fort Rabot. They would first have appeared to the Allobroges in a descent towards La Tronche. The sight of a weak extended line of baggage-mules, and horses, struggling along a narrow path, with a precipice of 150 or 200 feet on their right, offered too tempting an opportunity to be resisted by the Allobroges. They might have been farther encouraged by perceiving that if Hannibal rushed down from the heights to attack them, he could not avoid falling upon his own people, and urging them also towards the precipices; and we shall soon find that this consideration withheld for awhile the Carthaginian general from hastening to the assistance of his men.

c. 51. Τούτου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ κατὰ πλείω μέρη προσπεσόντων τῶν βαρβάρων, οὐχ οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν· ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν τόπων, πολὺς ἐγίγνετο φθόρος τῶν Καρχηδονίων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων·

ὄυσης γὰρ ὀυ μόνον στενῆς καὶ τραχέιας τῆς προσβολῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κρημνώδους, ἀπὸ παντὸς κινήματος καὶ πάσης ταραχῆς ἐφέρετο κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ὁμόσε τοῖς φορτίοις, πολλα τῶν υποζυγίων.

"This being done, (the attack upon the march,) and the barbarians having charged in many places, a great destruction of the Carthaginians, particularly of horses and beasts of burden, took place; not so much on account of the enemy, as from the nature of the ground, for the road was not only narrow and rough, but also precipitous, so that upon every agitation and each disturbance, many of the beasts of burden, together with their loads, were carried down the precipices."

If, by the words *κατὰ πλέιω μέρη*, we are to understand that the attack was made in many places at the same time, it becomes apparent that the Allobroges must have extended themselves along the left of the Carthaginians; that is, between the Carthaginians and Hannibal; and by charging them in many places, they would force them all towards the precipice. In the account of this pass we find the words *τὰ στενὰ—δυσχωρίαι—στενῆς—τραχειὰς—κρημνώδους*, &c., all perfectly descriptive of the country between La Buiserade and La Tronche. Nothing implies the difficulties attendant on any arduous ascent and

descent. Now in the Mont du Chat they would have had to encounter as severe a mountain for its elevation as any to be met with in the high Alps. Polybius tells us that the wounded horses upon this occasion added greatly to the confusion.

c. 51. Εἰς ἃ βλέπων Ἀννίβας, καὶ συλλογιζόμενος, ὡς οὐδὲ τοῖς διαφυγοῦσι τὸν κίνδυνόν ἐστι σωτηρία, τοῦ σκευοφορικοῦ διαφθαρέντος, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς προκατα σχόντας τὴν νύκτα τάς ὑπερβολὰς, ὥρμησε παραβοηθήσων τοῖς τῇ πορείᾳ προσβάλλουσιν.

"Hannibal observing this, and reflecting that even for those who escaped the danger there would be no safety should the 'materiel' perish, taking the men who during the night had seized upon the heights, rushed to the assistance of those who were prosecuting the march."

From the heights of the Bastille, Hannibal must have been an eye-witness of every thing that passed; but although well placed to prevent the enemy from gaining a commanding position, he was of no use to his own men at the height of at least a thousand feet above them. It was necessary, therefore, for him to charge down the hill.

c. 51. Οὗ γενομένου, πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἀπώλλυντο, διὰ τὸ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἔφοδον ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων τὸν Ἀννίβαν, οὐκ ἐλάττους δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων· ὁ γὰρ κατὰ

τὴν πορείαν θόρυβος ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἤυξετο διὰ τὴν τῶν προειρημένων κραυγὴν καὶ συμπλοκήν.

"Which being done, many of the enemy indeed perished, owing to Hannibal's making the onset from the high ground, but not fewer of his own men also—for the tumult along the march was increased on both sides by the shouts and shock of the above-mentioned troops."

Two parties scuffling on the brink of a precipice are both likely to be equally sufferers from the impulse of a third party, with whatever friendly intention it might be meant towards one only. The whole of this scene is in perfect keeping with the nature of the ground upon Mont Rachais.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς μὲν πλείστους τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων c. 51. *ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τρεψάμενος ἠναγκασε φυγεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν· τότε δὴ τὸ μὲν ἔτι περιλειπόμενον πλῆθος τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἵππων μόλις καὶ ταλαιπώρως διήννε τὰς δυσχωρίας. Αὐτὸς δὲ συναθρόισας ὅσους ηδύνατο πλείστους ἐκ τοῦ κινδύνου, προσέβαλε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἐξ ἧς ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ὁρμὴν οἱ πολεμίοι.*

"But when he had killed the greater part of the Allobroges, and, routing the rest, compelled them to fly into their own country, then, indeed, the remainder of the beasts of burden and horses, painfully and laboriously

got through the difficult places; but the general himself, getting together as many men as he could after the battle, pushed forward towards the town from which the enemy had made their sally."

c. 51. Καταλαβὼν δὲ σχεδὸν ἔρημον, διὰ τὸ πάντας ἐκκληθῆναι πρὸς τὰς ὠφελείας ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο τῆς πόλεως. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πολλὰ συνέβη τῶν χρησίμων αὐτῷ, πρός τε τὸ παρὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον. παραυτίκα μὲν γὰρ ἐκομίσατο πλῆθος ἵππων καὶ ὑποζυγίων, καὶ τῶν ἅμα τούτοις ἁλωκότων ἀνδρῶν· εἰς δὲ τὸ μέλλον ἔσχε μὲν καὶ σίτου καὶ θρεμμάτων ἐπὶ δυοῖν καὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐυπορίαν· τὸ δὲ συνέχον, φόβον εἰργάσατο τοῖς ἔξῃς, πρὸς τὸ μὴ τολμᾶν αὐτῷ ῥᾳδίως ἐγχειρεῖν μηδένα τῶν παρακειμένων τᾶις ἀναβολᾶις.

"Having found it nearly empty, owing to every man having been ordered forth for succour, he made himself master of the town; and from this circumstance many useful things fell into his hands, both for the present and the future, for he immediately recovered a number of horses and beasts of burden, and of men who had been captured together with them; and, for future use, he obtained an abundance of corn and cattle for two or three days' consumption; above all, he struck such terror into the natives thenceforward, that none of those who dwelt about the ascent

of the mountains were bold enough to meddle with him."

Such is the description of the capture of the Allobrogian town by Hannibal; and from such a description, comparing it with the localities of Grenoble, we at once recognize the features of the scene of action. It is from description alone that we must draw our conclusions; for it was not the practice of Polybius to bewilder his readers with barbarous names, since grown familiar to us, but then as unmeaning to the ears of his Greek contemporaries as the native appellations from the interior of Africa or Australia now sound to ours. It is strange that the memory of the transaction should have faded away from Cularo so early as the time of Livy—still stranger is it, that subsequent writers should in their investigations have overlooked the extraordinary manner in which Polybius's account coincides with the topography of Grenoble; which town must have been known to lie directly in the road from the "Insula" to Italy, whether Hannibal passed by the Graian or the Cottian Alp.

The art of war in some respects remains immutably the same in all ages: whatever may be the improvements invented by man for the destruction of his species; and it is curious to find Lesdiguieres, eighteen cen-

turies after Hannibal, setting about the capture of Grenoble in a manner so similar to the plan adopted by the Carthaginian general, that it would be unpardonable to pass it by unnoticed. Grenoble, at the time when this occurred, 1589, was occupied by the partisans of the League. Lesdiguieres, who was then opposed to that faction, availing himself of some meeting of Royalists at Voiron, near Moirans, "S'y rendit avec douze cents hommes, sous prétexte d'y maintenir le bon ordre—son dessein était de tenter ensuite un entreprise sur Grenoble. La nuit du 24 au 25 Novembre s'étant avancé jusqu' à la Buiserade, il envoya le capitaine Bar du Côté de St. Martin, et lui-même le suivit de prés. Les troupes ne rencontrèrent point d'obstacles, seulement en approchant de la tour de Rabot, elles furent saisies d'une terreur panique, cependant elles reprirent courage, et arrivèrent sans etre aperçues au pied de la maison ou les attendait l'ami du geolier," (the Concierge des prisons, who had been bribed,) "elles descendirent dans la rue St. Laurent par le moyen d'échelles," &c.

Pilot. p. 204.

We here find Lesdiguieres advancing from the vicinity of Moirans to La Buiserade; then halting, and during the night, unknown to the enemy, passing along the Côte de St. Martin, and ascending Mont Rachais, near Fort Rabot.

All this is perfectly similar to the proceedings of Hannibal; but when upon Mont Rachais, the Carthaginians had to turn up the heights on the left, while the French general descended the cliffs on the right by the help of ladders, and was admitted into the town by a traitor. The details of this enterprise of Lesdiguieres might possibly add something to the resemblance: they might be found, perhaps, in the history of his life by his secretary Videl; but in default of any extract from that book, which is not easily attainable, the account of the old author, Mezerai, may not be uninteresting.

"Le dessein reconnu, a fin de le mieux couvrir, et de pouvoir s'approcher de Grenoble sans donner de la deffiance, il convoque les Estats de la province à Voyron, et au mesme temps fait venir douze cens hommes à Moyranc. Comme toutes choses sont prestes pour l'execution, il s'avance le soir au fort de Cornillon, saisit tous les passages pour empescher Grenoble d'en avoir le veut, ordonne à sa cavalerie de mettre pied à terre, et à ses troupes de filer doucement par dessus le costau. Enfin, il conduit si bien l'entreprises que ces gens ayant passé sans etre apperceus par le corps-de-guarde de la tour de Rabot, qui est sur le costau, plantent six echelles par la maison designée, descendent dans la rue," &c.

Polybius gives us no regular account of the days between the departure of the Carthaginian army from the position of its six days' halt among the friendly tribe of Gauls, πρὸς τὴν Νῆσον, "in front of the island," and the capture of the town of the Allobroges; but it may be fairly presumed that this interval occupied about eight days; and an arrangement in the following manner appears perfectly consistent with the distance between Valence and Grenoble :—

Days.	*Time.* M. P.
1. The army moves from Valence to the Péage de Pizançon	11
2. Passage of the Isere.—The "Insula" is entered .	
3. Advance to St. Marcellin . . .	15
4. Advance to Morginnum (Moirans.) Here the Segalauni take leave of the Carthaginians, and return to Valence*	15
5 and 6. Hannibal halts at Moirans, while his Gaulish guides are sent forward to reconnoitre the position and designs of the Allobroges . .	
7. Advance to La Buiserade—during the night Hannibal seizes the heights of the Bastille . .	14
8. Fight with the Allobroges and capture of their town—Cularo—La Tronche, near Grenoble .	
	55

* It is possible that the Segalauni, to avoid any hostile rencontre with the Allobroges during their march home-

We are now to enter upon a portion of the march in which the days, with their events, are very distinctly enumerated. They will be found to amount to eighteen, from the capture of the town of the Allobroges to the arrival of the Carthaginians on the plains of the Po. Out of the eighteen, fifteen are especially assigned by Polybius to the passage of the Alps themselves. We are still, therefore, three days distant from the ἀναβολή τῶν Ἀλπεων, "the first ascent of the Alps;" and out of these three days, the first was allotted to a halt and repose in the captured town.

Τοτὲ μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος τὴν παρεμβολὴν, καὶ μίαν ἐπιμείνας ἡμέραν, ἄνδις ὥρμα. Polyb. iii. c. 52.

"Then, indeed, having there made his camp, and remained one day, he again set forth."

While the Carthaginians halt at Cularo, it may be worth while to take into consideration the situation of Grenoble.* The view

wards, might have got across the Isere near Moirans; and being unencumbered with baggage, elephants, and horses, they might have made their way to Valence along the left bank of the Isere, under the Sassenage mountains.

* Grenoble and its environs present many interesting and delightful objects to the traveller. The town contains a fine library of 55,000 volumes, and a good museum of natural history. The neighbourhood abounds in picturesque and

from the heights of the Bastille is singularly magnificent. My companion, Mr. Maude, who had visited every part of Switzerland, declared it unrivalled by any thing he had seen in that country. Three valleys converge at this point; for the Isere, by changing its course from a south-easterly to a north-westerly direction, may be said to form two, while the Drac, coming from the south, opens a third in front of us, remarkable for the curious appearance of the insulated eminences, the relics of mountains washed away, that rise from its plain. The Sassenage heights on the west, in undiminished grandeur, occupy every thing between the Isere and the left bank of the Drac; while on the south-east a long snowy sierra of *Alps*, forming the southern side of the valley above Grenoble, extends from the right bank of the Drac until it

luxuriant landscapes, and in various objects of curiosity, such as plants, minerals, birds, and animals of all sorts, found in the Alps. The monastery of the Grande Chartreuse and the Caves, or "Cuves," of Sassenage, are extremely well worth visiting. The latter, which are reckoned as one of the "seven sights of Dauphiny," are really curious. The other six deserve the reproach of the epigram—

"Merveilles du pays, dont on dit tant de bien
Soit dans les vers, soit dans la prose;
Vous etes un peu plus que rien,
Mais, à dire vrai, vous n'etes pas grande chose!"

seems to unite with the glaciers of the Mont Blanc, which, at the distance of thirty leagues, fills up the head of the valley with its solitary form.

The view of the *Alpine* range on the south side of the vale of Gresivaudan is particularly interesting, because it completely explains what at first is not very apparent; namely, why Polybius does not place the ἀναβολή τῶν Ἄλπεων, "the entrance," or "first ascent of the Alps," at Voreppe. At Voreppe, we plunge among the mountains, and enter the narrow valley of the Isere, which will conduct us to almost the very summit of the Alps. We may seek in vain for a guide to the ἀναβολή, "first ascent," among the various authors who have written on the march of Hannibal, for no two works are agreed upon the subject. The difficulty in determining this place appears to arise from there being no precise spot on this side the Alps, which, from the self-evidence of its position, can be immediately recognized as the commencement, "the first ascent," of those mountains. The whole country, from almost the very banks of the Rhone, is mountainous, and seems far and wide little else than the roots of the Alps. Even the Jura itself, connected as it is with the mountains of the

Grande Chartreuse, can without impropriety be designated as a portion of

> "The tract
> Of horrid mountains, which the shining Alps
> Branch out stupendous into distant lands:"

and amid this chaos of hills, the precise moment at which we may be said to commence the ascent of the Alps is not immediately distinguishable.

The Alps—which are supposed to derive their name from the Celtic "Alp," or Rhetic "Alv," signifying "Albus," "*white*,"—are, properly speaking, the *snowy range itself*, independent of its various ramifications. This range we clearly discern from the Bastille, stretching along on the right of us, as we ascend the valley of the Isere from Grenoble. The mass of the Grande Chartreuse, on the left, is totally detached and distinct from the real *Alps*. We travel up the vale of Gresivaudan along the base of the snowy mountains; but as yet have not turned in among them, and commenced their ascent. We know also from Polybius, that at Grenoble (if Grenoble was the town captured by Hannibal) we are still two days' march from the ἀναβολή; and, when we have advanced that dis-

tance, we are to expect to meet the "first ascent" of the Alps.

After one day's halt at the conquered town, ἄνθις ὥρμα, says the historian, he again set forth—

τᾶις δ'ἑξῆς, μέχρι μὲν τινος, ἀσφαλῶς διῆγε τὴν στρατιάν. c. 52.

"And for some days successively, up to a certain point, he led the army in safety."

Two roads, one on each side of the Isere, lead from Grenoble up the vale of Gresivaudan. We may reasonably conclude that Hannibal continued along the right bank, for on that side stood the ancient Cularo; no mention is made of his having crossed the river. The road on that side is now, and probably always was, the one most usually travelled; the posts are mounted along it; and this side of the valley, enjoying a southern exposure under the vertical abutments of the Grande Chartreuse mountains, is richer and drier than the opposite, where there are more trees, streams, and meadows—now, indeed, under the management and control of art and labour, but in earlier ages not unlikely to have been forests, torrents, and marshes. We roll along the post-road through this glorious vale, and meet no obstacle in the shape of hills until we arrive at the village of La Buissiere, lying at

the foot of the heights of Fort Barraux—a very remarkable geographical position, accompanied by such changes in the state and aspect of the country, as to require particular attention. We are now almost at the end of the vale of Gresivaudan. Here we encounter "the first ascent;" and a little farther, at Mont Meillan is a valley leading through the *snowy range*, the *real Alps* themselves. The Isere hereabouts ceases to be navigable. Even man seems to have acknowledged a line of demarcation drawn by nature, for here are the marches of France and Savoy. The numerous old fortresses assembled here, once frowning defiance at each other from all quarters, are not unworthy of remark. Saint Joire and Mont Meillan are now a heap of ruins. Les Marches, rising finely in a bold position, is become a private residence. Bellecombe, once the "clavis et custodia regni Delphini," is dismantled. Fort Barraux alone, won by Lesdiguieres for Henri IV., is still kept up and garrisoned. On the other side of the Isere, at Pontcharra, we see the remains of Avalon, a hunting seat of the old Dauphins, the birthplace of Hugh de Wells, Bishop of Lincoln, the chancellor of King John of England. Above all, Grignan, the patrimonial residence of the "Chevalier sans

peur et sans reproche," deserves a visit for the sake of the fine prospect it commands, if not for the sake of its hero. Fortune, by casting the nativity of Bayard here, upon the very frontiers of France, seemed to have destined him from his cradle for the post of honour. His memory is worshipped throughout Dauphiny ; but the respect it commands has not been sufficient to preserve his castle from the universal destruction of the Revolution. The room, however, in which he is said to have been born still exists, and the pencilling on the walls shows it to be a place of pilgrimage. Among the memoranda there, a few lines traced by the hand of the unfortunate Amédée de Bourmont, who soon after fell at Algiers, are not without interest. From the terrace of the old courtyard of Grignan, we have a splendid prospect, beginning at the lower extremity of the vale of Gresivaudan near Grenoble, sweeping across the cliffs of the Isere to Fort Barraux, and thence along the valley towards Chambéry.

It is singular, that in some of the best maps there is laid down a road, apparently of some magnitude, from La Buissiere to Mont Meillan, passing, it would seem, under Fort Barraux close along the bank of the Isere. No such road, or at least nothing more than the

merest lane, exists in that direction; still less likely is it that one was there in former ages, before the low country was cleared and drained as much as it now is. The Isere runs immediately under the heights of Fort Barraux, which it forms into cliffs, compelling the road to ascend at once the hills near the Fort, and to approach Mont Meillan by way of Chapereillan. This is the "first ascent" we have encountered; and associated with the changes in the country above mentioned, and its distance, which begins to be about two days' march from Grenoble, it is sufficient to induce us to conjecture that we must be at or near the ἀναβολή. To ascertain this, it is necessary to have recourse to the distances given by Polybius. If La Buissiere is the ἀναβολή, it ought to be

I. First, 1400 stadia, 175 M. P. from Tarascon.

II. Secondly, nearly 1200 stadia, 150 M. P. from the plains of the Po.

Tried by these tests, and not found wanting, La Buissiere may be reasonably set down as the spot sought for.

I. 1400 stadia, or 175 Roman miles, from Tarascon. Out of this distance, one hundred miles have been already exhausted between Tarascon and Valence: the distance therefore

between Valence and La Buissiere ought to be 75 miles. Two modes of computing distances prevail in this country: one by the posts, as established by government; the other, more common, by "lieues du pays."—We will try them both.

First, there are between Valence and Chapereillan 16½ postes, which at the common rate of 5 M. P. to the poste, will give 82½ M. P. But Chapereillan is 4½ miles beyond La Buissiere; deducting that distance, we have 78 M. P. left, and may safely refer the superabundant three miles to the practice of overrating the post distances.

Secondly, there are between Valence and Fort Barraux 21 "lieues du pays." These "lieues" are rather vague; sometimes they are "fortes," sometimes "petites." I made constant inquiries as to what a "lieue du pays" was, and received three explanations—that it was "plus forte qu'une lieue de poste;" that it was "à peu prés trois milles d' Italiè;" and that it was as much as a man could walk in an hour. A messenger on foot, despatched by some gentlemen at Crest (Drome) with a commission to Grenoble, told me he had performed the distance between Romans and St. Marcellin, four lieues du pays, easily in four hours. Having walked by the side of this

man for some time, I am certain his ordinary pace did not exceed 3½ English miles per hour. From this, and other observations in accomplishing the distances, 3½ English miles may be taken as a fair average for a lieue du pays. At this rate, the 21 lieues du pays between Valence and Fort Barraux, would give 73½ English miles; deducting the mile between La Buissiere and Fort Barraux, and adding 5 miles, the necessary augmentation to convert them into Roman miles, we have 77½ M. P., which differs, but not very materially, from the Polybian distance.

II. Whatever uncertainty we may experience as to the ἀναβολὴ τῶν Ἄλπεων on the Gallic side of the Graian Alp, we labour under none as to the commencement of the plains on the Italian side of the mountains. The rock of Donas, very near the village of St. Martin, at which the ingenious authors of the Dissertation fix the commencement of the plains, is one of the most remarkable places in the whole march. At Donas, the valley of the Doria Baltea contracts so much, that the river originally must have had to force a passage for itself. Ancient and modern potentates have contributed their efforts to form and enlarge a road for man. We have an opportunity of comparing the works of Au-

gustus with those of the Duke of Savoy. The rock has been cut away by the Romans, who have shaped a portion of it into a milliarium in the form of a pilaster, and into an arch extending across the road. The Roman work is finished off with the chisel, and left upright and smooth as a wall; but the modern system of blasting with gunpowder gives a shaggy and unfinished aspect to the more recent improvements. Emerging from this remarkable pass, we seem at once extricated from the Alps, and enter upon the plains of Italy. The town of Ivrea, anciently Eporedia, stands in the plains; but being at no great distance from Donas, and a place noticed as a station in the Itineraries, it may suit our purpose to commence from it a calculation of the distance towards the ascent of the heights of Fort Barraux at La Buissiere.

	M. P.	
From Eporedia (Ivrea) to Vitricium (Verres)	21	
Augusta prætoria (Aosta)	25	
Arebrigium (Pré St. Didier) . . .	25	
Artolica (La Tuille)	6	
Alpis Graia (Little St. Bernard) . . .	6	
	——	83
Bergintrum (St. Maurice)	11	
Axima (Ayme)	9	
Darantasia (Salins)	10	
Ad Publicanos (L'Hôpital) . . .	16	
Mantala (—— ?)	16	
	——	62
		145

We have here a distance of 145 M. P. between Ivrea and Mantala, which is supposed to have been at or near St. Pierre d'Albigny: from these 145 M. P. we must deduct the distance between Ivrea and Donas, and add that between Mantala and La Buissiere, which is somewhat greater, thus making 146 or 147 M. P. from La Buissiere to the plains of Italy.

The difference between these measurements and the Polybian distances is, an *excess* between Tarascon and La Buissiere, and a *defalcation* between La Buissiere and Donas. Such a result we may be justified in expecting, from the expressions of Polybius. Of the first distance he speaks positively—χίλιοι τετρακόσιοι—1,400 stadia, or 175 miles, meaning the *full* distance; but of the next he says, ΠΕΡΙ χιλίους διακοσίους—*nearly* 1,200 stadia, 150 M. P.; and in this we need not expect the whole distance. Thus, then, the measurements are completed sufficiently within the letter of the law of Polybius.

	M. P.
From Tarascon to La Buissiere, under Fort Barraux	175 *full.*
From La Buissiere to Donas	150 *nearly.*

With these distances thus determined, and with the undeviating concurrence we have

hitherto found between the description of the country in Polybius and its actual state at present, we gain confidence as we advance, and feel a conviction that we are clearly following the traces of the Carthaginian army. But at Fort Barraux I take leave of Hannibal, satisfied if, by accompanying him so far, the least assistance towards an explanation of his wonderful expedition has been in any way afforded. His road now enters the Alps themselves: the fine valley of the Tarentaise, opening at Mont Meillan, lies close before him, directly leading to the foot of the Graian Alp. The remainder of the march has been so amply illustrated by the Oxford authors, that no one can read their work and wish for any thing more, than to visit in person the curious scenes it describes.

It may be worth while, however, to subjoin a scheme of the journal of Polybius, dating from the capture of Cularo, arranged according to days and distances, in the best shape it appears to me capable of assuming. The time and distances are absolute, and sufficiently satisfactory; the places assigned as the probable termination of each day's march are of course often conjectural.

March of Hannibal from Grenoble to the plains of the Po at Donas, arranged in days according to the text of Polybius.

Time. Day.		Distance.
1.	μιὰν επιμείνας ἡμέραν, "halting for one day" at Grenoble.	Cularo (Grenoble) to La Buissiere, M. P. 22
2.	ἄνθις ὥρμα, "he set forth again." Advances to Lumbin, where the post, dividing the distance, is now established.	
3.	Advance to Chapereillan.	
	(The ascent of the Alps is begun.)	
4.	For some time he led his army in safety, but ἤδη δὲ τεταρτᾶιος ὤν, ἄνθις ἐις κινδύνους παρεγένετο μεγάλους. "But now on the *fourth* day, he again approached great dangers." οἱ γὰρ περὶ τὴν δίοδον οἰκοῦντες. "For the people who dwelt round about the pass"—the Centrones—plotting treachery, came out to meet him under the semblance of friendship. Halt at Freterive.	La Buissiere ad Publicanos to L'Hôpital, 32
5.	Advance ad Publicanos—to L'Hôpital—a short day's march. Halt and parley with the Centrones. The territories of the Allobroges and Centrones were divided at Conflans, or L'Hôpital, by the river Arly. πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἠνλαβεῖτο. "He hesitated a long while."	

Day.		Distance. M. P.
	Brought forward	32
6.	After reflecting that he could gain nothing by delay, he accepted hostages, and continued the march in company with some of the Centrones as guides. Advance to ~~Borgintrum, St. Maurice~~	~~15~~
7.	*προπορευομένων δ' ἀυτων ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέραις.* "Having proceeded for *two* days," on this, the *second* day, they reach ~~Axime, Ayme~~.	~~15~~
8.	*συναθροισθέντες οἱ προειρημένοι, καὶ συνακολουθήσαντες, ἐπιτίθενται, φάραγγα τινα δύσβατον καὶ κρημνώδη περαιουμένων αὐτῶν.* "The above-mentioned people, collecting together, and pursuing, (the Carthaginians,) set upon them, as they were going through a certain difficult and precipitous ravine." (1)*	c. 52.
	Here they narrowly escaped total destruction. A battle ensued: Hannibal, with half his forces, was obliged to scale the rocks, and keep guard, while the rest of the troops and the baggage, marching all night, passed the defile.	~~20~~ c. 53.
	ἕως ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ταῦτα μόλις ἐξεμηρύσα το τῆς χαραδρας. "While that part of the army, during the whole night, with difficulty got through the ravine."	
9.	*τῇ δ ἐπαύριον....προῆγε πρὸς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τὰς ἀνωτάτω τῶν" Αλπεων....'Ενναταῖος δὲ διανύσας εἰς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς.* "The *next day* he reached the very highest part of the passage of the Alps —having gained the summit (of the Little St. Bernard) on the *ninth* day.	c. 53.
		78

* See Note, p. 109.

	Day.	Distance. M. P.
	Brought forward	78
c. 53.	10 & 11. *αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε, καὶ δύο ἡμέρας προσεμεινε.* "He there encamped, and remained for *two* days."(2)* There was already a good deal of snow upon the higher parts, *διὰ*	
c. 54.	*τὸ συνάπτειν τὴν τῆς* Πλειάδος *δύσιν*—"as it was about the time of the setting of the Pleiades."(3)	
c. 54.	12. *τῇ δ' ἐπαύριον αναζεύξας, ἐνήρχετο τῆς καταβάσεως.* "The *next day*, breaking up the encampment, he commenced the descent." Proceed to Artolica, (la Tuille,) where an impediment in the road prevented any further advance(4) . . .	6
c. 55.	*ἐστρατοπέδευσε περὶ τὴν ῥάχιν.* "He encamped near the precipice."	
	13. Repairs of the road carried on actively—enough was effected in one day to admit of a part of the army descending to Arebrigium (Pré St. Didier.)	
c. 55.	*τοῖς μὲν ὖν ὑποζυγίοις καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἱκανὴν ἐποίησε.* "In *one* day he made a passage sufficient for the beasts of burden and the horses."	
	14. Repairs of the road continue.	
	15. Repairs of the road completed—the elephants descend to Arebrigium (Pré St. Didier)	6
		90

* See Notes, page 110, &c.

Day.		Distance. M. P.	
	Brought forward	90	
	μόλις ἐν ἡμέραις τρισὶ κακοπαθήσας, διήγαγε τὰ θηρία. "With difficulty in *three* days, having suffered a good deal, he got the elephants through."(5)*		c. 55.
16.	*Ἀννίβας δὲ, συναθροίσας ὁμοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν, κατέβαινε.* "But Hannibal, having got all his forces together, continued the descent"—from Arebrigium, (Pré St. Didier.)		c. 56.
17.	March continued.		
18.	*τριταῖος ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων κρημνῶν διανύσας, ἥψατο τῶν ἐπιπέδων.* "On the *third* day after the above-mentioned precipices, (at La Tuille,) having completed the passage, he touched the plains."	57	c. 56.
	Having accomplished *τὴν τῶν Ἄλπεων ὑπερβολὴν ἡμέραις πεντε κάι δεκα,* main pass of the Alps in *fifteen* days.		c. 56.
		147	

And now *κατῆρε τολμηρῶς εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία, κάι τὸ τῶν Ἰσόμβρων ἔθνος.* c. 56.

"He descended fearlessly into the plains about the Po, and the nation of the Insubrians."

With these words Polybius closes the account of the march: and the mention of the

* See Note, page 112.

Insubrian Gauls is justly advanced as one of the strongest proofs that Hannibal crossed the Graian Alp, and descended the valley of the Salassi, for that valley debouches into the plains of the Po in the identical country occupied formerly by that people; whereas, the valleys of the Cottian Alp—those of Perosa and Susa—descend upon the country of the Taurini. Some fresh evidence may be gleaned from the other words, *τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία*, so frequently mentioned as the part of Italy in which the Carthaginians were first to arrive.

Polybius, in describing the course of the Po, says it turns towards the east, when it reaches the plains—*ἀφικόμενος δ' εἰς τοὺς ἐπιπέδους τόπους, ἐκκλίνας τῷ ῥεύματι πρὸς ἕω, φέρεται δι' αὐτῶν* —"reaching the plains, it flows through them, inclining with its stream towards the east." If by these words we are to understand that the river has not arrived at the plains, until it takes an easterly direction, it is clear that the plains, in Polybius's estimation, are not anywhere at the foot of the Cottian Alp, but that they are near the foot of the Graian Alp, because a little before receiving the Dora Baltea, which flows from that Alp, the Po begins to turn *to the eastward.* The Po, according to Polybius, rises at

ii. c. 16.

the apex of the triangle,* to which he likens the shape of Northern Italy—that is, it rises at the junction of the Alps and the Apennines. "Thence," he says, "it flows down towards the plains, taking its course as if *towards the south.*" These words are astounding—because most certainly the Po "rolls its infant stream" *towards the north.* Surely, instead of ὡς ἐπί μεσημβρίαν, we ought to read, ὡς ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας; although even this alteration would not convey a perfectly satisfactory meaning.

The complete development of the route of Hannibal, a geographical problem of 2,000 years standing, was for ages considered hopeless. The component parts of the puzzle, time, space, roads, rivers, and mountains, seemed jumbled together in inexplicable confusion. In our Latin guide, the narrative was at variance with its authorities and with itself. In our Greek guide,

"Pure description held the place of *names.*"

But within these few years a line of march

* The apex of this figure is in the neighbourhood of the Col d'Argentiere. Pliny, and all subsequent geographers, have assigned the birth of the Po to Monte Viso, selecting the highest mountain for that purpose. Polybius, by following the stream which has the longest course, the Maira, is perhaps the most correct.

has been pointed out, supported by sound reasoning, and in perfect accordance with the tale as told by its faithful and almost contemporary historian. If, in adding any new matter, such as the place of the passage of the Rhone at Tarascon*—the propriety of measuring "the 800 stadia along the river," *previous* to the passage of the Isere—the march of the army by way of Cularo, and the capture of that town—and, lastly, if by thus obtaining a closer approximation to the Polybian distances, and a complete correspondence with time throughout the march, this treatise may be considered as having at all assisted in unravelling the mystery, the object of its author is accomplished.

* The author has evidently not seen the little work alluded to in the note page 21.—Ed.

BATTLE OF THE TICINUS.

I SHALL avail myself of the precedent afforded by M. Deluc's example, in appending to the March of Hannibal a few observations upon the site of the Battle of the Ticinus.

The descent of the Carthaginians into Italy, and the capture of Turin, *τὴν βαρυτάτην πολιν*, c. 60. "an exceedingly strong town," after three days' siege, were followed by the rencontre with Scipio in the engagement which bears the name of the Battle of the Ticinus; and which, no doubt, was fought at no great distance from that river. With regard to the precise scene of action, almost as much contention exists respecting it, as about the passage of the Alps themselves; and yet the account we have in Polybius scarcely justifies such perplexity.

The hostile forces are represented as advancing both along the Po; Hannibal from the neighbourhood of Turin, and Scipio from

that of Cremona,* both eager for the fight. The Roman, upon reaching the Ticinus, constructed a bridge and carried his army across. The battle took place after both parties had advanced a little farther.

c. 65. προῆγον ἀμφότεροι παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν, ἐκ τοῦ προς τὰς Ἄλπεις μέρους, ἔχοντες εὐώνυμον μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, δεξιὸν δὲ τὸν ῥοῦν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι.

* We have no information as to where Scipio crossed the Po. Livy makes him land at Genoa, when he hastened back from the mouth of the Rhone upon discovering that Hannibal was in full march towards the Graian Alp. In this case, he would have crossed the Po at Placentia. But Polybius, our best authority, expressly informs us more than once that he landed at Pisa, and passed from thence "through Tyrrhenia," or "through Italy." In this case, which was for the purpose of taking up the troops stationed at Ariminum (Rimini) or Modena, engaged in watching the Boii, he would have gone from Pisa to Arezzo, and thence across the Apennines to Rimini, through the Salpinian tribe, by a road near the sources of the Tyber and the Arno, not unfrequently used by the Romans. He would then have to cross the Po between Modena and Cremona; for the country between Modena and Placentia was at that time considered impracticable on account of its marshes—the marshes through which Hannibal carried his army the ensuing spring, according to Dr. Cramer, who has most satisfactorily elucidated this point in his work upon the geography of ancient Italy—an invaluable book to the Italian traveller. But whether Scipio crossed the Po at Cremona or Placentia is of little moment; in either case, he would have been advancing straight upon the Ticinus, in the neighbourhood of Pavia.

Tit. Liv. xxxi. 2. 21. &c.

"They both advanced along the river, upon the parts towards the Alps, the Romans having the stream on their left, the Carthaginians with it on their right."

The difficulty arises from these words being usually applied to the Ticinus; which certainly, although at a considerable interval, had been the last river mentioned. We are confused with the side of a river described as "towards the Alps," while the river itself, in a course at a right angle from the Alps, presents neither side towards those mountains; and we are surprised at discovering Scipio and Hannibal, who had been approaching one from the east and the other from the west, along the Po, now suddenly in situations north and south of each other upon the Ticinus. But if we might understand παρὰ τὸν Ποταμόν, as applied to the nobler river,—to the Po*—of which frequent mention had been made already, whereas the Ticinus is only alluded to in connexion with its bridge, which by being broken down, afterwards stopped Hannibal in his pursuit of Scipio, then the mists disappear, the prospect brightens.

* Just as the Rhone is called ποταμὸν (III. c. 50.) although the Isere had been the river last named.

> Adspice ! namque omnem, quæ nunc obducta tuenti
> Mortales hebetat visus tibi, et humida circum
> Caligat, nubem ereptam.

We now clearly discover the armies along the *Po* "on the side towards the Alps." The Romans, of course, with the stream on their left—the Carthaginians with it to their right —along the most direct road by which, in their mutual eagerness to engage, they would naturally have sought a meeting.

The above explanation seems satisfactory; but in addition it may be observed, that Polybius, on the only occasion where he refers to this action, does not call it the "Battle of the Ticinus," but the "Battle near the *Po*."

Polyb. Reliq. x. *τήν περι τόν* ΠΑΔΟΝ *καλούμενον ποταμὸν ἱππομαχίαν.*

Such at least were the conclusions which followed a hasty examination of this country in 1820. Should the political state of Italy (which seems at present almost disposed to threaten the traveller with an opportunity of witnessing some modern warfare, rather than allowing him peaceably to investigate the topography of ancient battles,) admit of any future examination of the country, it is possible that a more attentive inspection may lead to some better remarks.

NOTES.

✻ *Note* 1, *page* 99.

The valley between Ayme and the foot of the Little St. Bernard becomes confined and rugged; and corresponds completely with the pass described by Polybius, where Hannibal was set upon by the mountaineers, and so narrowly escaped total destruction. Here, too, is the famous λευκόπετρον, upon which so much has been built. The genius of the Greek language does not require that περι τι λευκόπετρον should be translated absolutely "upon a *white* rock." It might equally signify "silice in nuda,"—"upon a bare rock,"—without the necessity of its being "*white*." But to find a white gypsum rock, really called the "roche blanche," at or near the very spot where Polybius speaks of a λευκόπετρον, is too tempting a coincidence to be resigned without a struggle; and even to throw a doubt upon it might appear inhuman. It must be acknowledged also, that περὶ τι λευκόπετρον ὀχυρὸν does seem really to allude to *some one particular* "commanding bare rock." In order to protect effectually the passage of the army, Hannibal must have either occupied the rocks on both sides of the defile, or taken possession of some one rock which alone commanded the pass, and from which the enemy might have particularly harassed him. Now, to have occupied the "roche blanche" by itself, would seem to have been scarcely sufficient, because each side of the valley there

✻ Dele this note in toto — Having ree
p. 11, the Ravine of the Roche blanche, c
ing with Mr Skene[illegible], we were to the th
[illegible] that is the identical spot at w

presents an equal facility of attack. But there is a rock about half-way between Ayme and St. Maurice, a very remarkable one, descending perpendicularly into the road from the north side of the valley, from which a very small body of men might interrupt the march of a whole army.

Note 2, *page* 100.

* The picturesque circumstance of Hannibal standing upon the summit of the Alps, and animating the drooping spirits of the Carthaginians by showing them the plains of Italy, has long been dwelt upon as the most remarkable feature in the whole story, and a triumphant argument against the Little St. Bernard, from which the plains of Italy are not discernible. We have been repeatedly assured that they are not visible from any alpine pass, not even from the Grand St. Bernard, at a much greater elevation than its minor namesake. To every traveller (excepting one, who blessed with poetic vision,

> And placed on high, above the storm's career,
> Looks downward, where an hundred realms appear,)

this is perfectly intelligible, because he well knows the sinuosities of the Alpine valleys, and how uniformly the highest part of any mountain pass, is only a gorge surrounded by higher summits. But the words of Polybius do not convey any positive assertion that Hannibal either *saw* or *showed* the plains of the Po. We are told, that finding his troops discouraged, he endeavoured to cheer them by means
c. 54. of one thing, τὴν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐνάργειαν, the "evidence," or "positive certainty of Italy." For, adds Polybius, it so lies under the mountains, that συνθεωρουμένων ἀμφοῖν, "looking upon them both together," the mountains appear to be a sort of acropolis to the whole of Italy. Whereupon, ἐνδεικνυμένος αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πέδια, "indicating

to them the plains of the Po," reminding them of the perfectly friendly disposition of the Gauls who dwelt there; and at the same time, τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀντῆς τόπον ὑποδεικνύων, iii. c. 34. —44. "describing to them the situation of Rome itself," he succeeded in reviving their courage. There is nothing more in this, then, than Hannibal made a speech to his troops, explaining to them in a general way the nature of Italy; upon the acropolis of which, as it were, they were then placed. He described first the plains of the Po, just below them, inhabited by their allies; and then the position of Rome itself. In the previous speeches at New Carthage, and on the Rhone, he had used the same arguments, which Polybius records much in the same manner. It is worthy of remark, perhaps, that if a *sight* of Italy had been necessary to revive the spirits of the army, and the plains of the Po had really been visible, there would have been no occasion for Hannibal to call an assembly, and point out what must have been apparent to the eyes of every man in the army.

Note 3, *page* 100.

Absconduntur autem (Vergiliæ) altero et trigessimo die post autumnale equinoctium, quod fere conficitur nono Cal. Octobris."—*Columel*, ii. 8.

The difference in the time of the achronical setting of the Pleiades between the period of Hannibal or Polybius, and that of Columella, would not be considerable.

Note 4, *page* 100.

The situation and nature of this impediment in the road form one of the most curious and convincing circumstances in the whole march. In the extract from De Saussure, so opportunely brought forward by M. Deluc, the historian of the Alps uses almost the very words of the historian of Hannibal; and yet it is probable that nothing

was farther from the mind of the philosopher than the work of Polybius.

Note 5, *page* 101.

Some importance has been attached to the circumstance of elephants' bones and teeth having been found in some of the alpine streams; but the discovery of these remains seems very unauthenticated. The geological nature of the surrounding mountains renders the discovery of any fossils of this sort among the higher Alps very unlikely. It does not, however, appear from Polybius that any of Hannibal's elephants perished in crossing the Alps, although they suffered much from want of browse. The death of the elephants, all except one, is recorded to have occurred in consequence of the severe snow-storm and frost at the time of the battle of the Trebia. The elephants employed by the Carthaginians came from India—so, at least, we may infer from the circumstance of their *cornacks*, or attendants, having been Indians. The Indian elephant was the best fighter. In a battle between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philopater, a party of Indian elephants overthrew a body of African elephants, which could not endure the smell, the sound, the size, and the strength of their Asiatic adversaries These two distinct species of elephants seem to have escaped the discrimination of Linnæus, but they have been recognized by Cuvier under the names of the Elephas Indicus, and Elephas Capensis. Had Hannibal's elephants been natives of Africa, and any of their grinders been discovered, they might have been identified with some degree of certainty; but as being of the Indian breed, their grinders would stand a chance of being confounded with those of the fossil elephant. For in the fossil elephant the lineaments of the crown of the grinders are distinguished by wavy lines, formed by parallel perpendicular laminæ, which is also the

iii. c. 74.
i. c. 49.
iii. c. 46.
Reliq. xi.
c. i.
v. c. 84.

case with the Asiatic elephant now existing; whereas, in the existing African elephant, the lineaments are rhomboidal, or lozenge shaped. The only good authority for Hannibal's losing any of these animals during his march is that of Mr. Rogers, who kills an elephant among the Alps in a manner so animated and vividly descriptive, as almost to make us eye-witnesses, and able of ourselves to vouch for the fact.

. . . . "Great was the tumult there,
Deafening the din, when in barbaric pomp
The Carthaginian, on his march to Rome,
Entered their fastnesses—trampling the snows,
The war-horse reared—and the towered elephant
Upturned his trunk into the murky sky,
Then tumbled headlong, swallowed up and lost
He and his rider.—Now the scene is changed,
And o'er the Simplon, o'er the Splugen winds
A path of pleasure."

Italy, p. 30.

THE END.

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